The Outlook

VOLUME 95 MAY 7, 1910 NUMBER 1

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE OUTLOOK COMPANY, 287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT, PRESIDENT. WILLIAM B. HOWLAND, TREASURER. KARL V. S. HOWLAND, SECRETARY
REGULAR WEEKLY NUMBERS, FIVE CENTS. MAGAZINE NUMBERS (FOURTH ISSUE OF EACH MONTH), FIFTEEN CENTS. YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS — FIFTY-TWO ISSUES — THREE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE NEW YORK POST-OFFICE

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THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
287 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Chicago Office, Marquette Building London Office, 3 Regent Street

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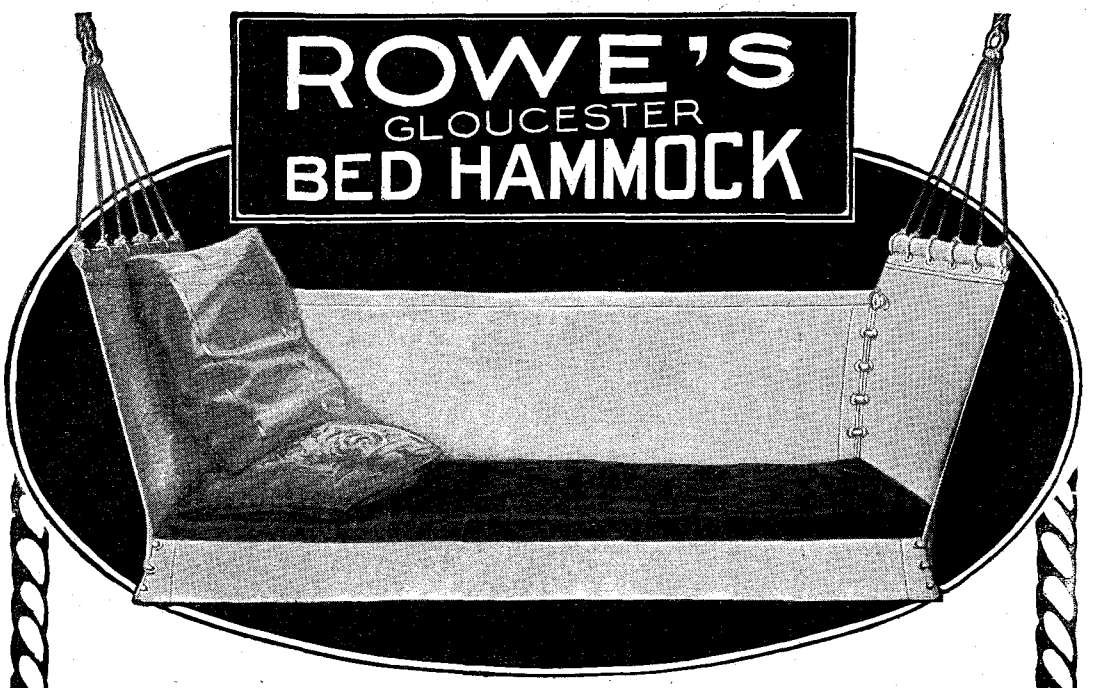

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The Outlook

MAY 7, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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Contributing Editor

MR. ROOSEVELT'S SORBONNE LECTURE

The address on "Citizenship in a Republic," printed in full in The Outlook last week, was received by the press of Paris with comment showing plainly that the impression made by the speaker was one of sincerity and force. Thus the "Temps," to quote one such expression only, says that the effect produced was all the greater because Mr. Roosevelt did not present theories that he conceived, but experiences that he lived. The "Temps" finds many lessons for France in the lecture, and concludes with an appeal to France to take "the advice of an honest man whose deeds and life during thirty years qualify him to speak." An account of the occasion received from The Outlook's staff correspondent may be added as a pen-picture of a noteworthy occasion: "The Sorbonne address was a complete success. The occasion was great, the oratory great, great also was the evidence of the power of moral ideas to interest and inspire. The spacious amphitheater of the Sorbonne was filled with a representative audience numbering three thousand, while many hundreds were unable to get admission. Around the hall were statues of the great masters of French intellectual life—Pascal, Descartes, Lavoisier, and others. On the wall was a beautiful mural painting by Puvis de Chavannes. The group of university officials and Academicians on the dais from which Roosevelt spoke gave an appropriate university atmosphere. The single but perfectly arranged decoration, the French and American flags back of the speaker, gave an international atmosphere. The speech was an appeal for moral rather than for intellectual greatness. It was received with absorbed interest and marked approval; the passage ending with a reference to 'cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat' was delivered with real eloquence and aroused a long-continued storm of applause. Occasionally an extemporaneous sentence in French was interjected by Mr. Roosevelt with quizzical and bubbling humor, to the great satisfaction of his audience. His creed as to vested interests was not in the printed address, but was written the very morning of the lecture. It was enthusiastically approved. It was as follows: 'My position as regards the moneyed interests can be put in a few words. In every civilized society property rights must be carefully safeguarded; ordinarily, and in the great majority of cases, human rights and property rights are fundamentally and in the long run identical; but when it clearly appears that there is a real conflict between them, human rights must have the upper hand, for property belongs to man and not man to property.' This he gave first in English and then repeated in French. With characteristic courage, Mr. Roosevelt attacked race suicide when speaking to a race whose population is diminishing, and he was loudly applauded. I am more and more impressed with the fact that Theodore Roosevelt is everywhere recognized as a great leader of international influence in practical social and political morality."

THE LLOYD-GEORGE BUDGET PASSED

The Lloyd-George Budget, five months almost to a day after its overwhelming rejection by the British House of Lords, was quietly passed by that body without division on Thursday of last week. The Conservative majority in

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the Lords, true to their pledge, accepted the verdict of the general election without appreciable protest. The Budget had passed the Commons the night before by practically the same majority that had adopted Mr. Asquith's veto resolutions—about one hundred votes. Parliament has now adjourned for the spring recess of four weeks. When it reassembles, the Lords will take up the consideration of the Asquith resolutions, which aim to shear them of much of their power. What they will do with them is hardly a matter of conjecture, and their refusal to accept them will almost certainly precipitate another election. So far prediction is nearly safe. Beyond that point lies a crisis which may add a new and perhaps revolutionary chapter to the constitutional history of England.

A PURSUIT RACE IN THE AIR

An exciting contest in the air took place last week in England. Louis Paulhan, a French aviator, flew in his aeroplane from London to Manchester, a distance of one hundred and eighty-five miles, with only one stop. His rival, Graham White, an Englishman, left London an hour later than Paulhan, and succeeded in getting only within sixty miles of Manchester. The aviators were trying to win the prize of $50,000 offered by the London "Daily Mail" for the first flight from London to Manchester with not more than two stops. Mr. White had already made one unsuccessful attempt several days before, and when M. Paulhan suddenly came over from France to compete with him public interest and excitement rose high. The French aviator stole a march on his British rival. He started on his flight at half-past five Wednesday afternoon, when White had gone to bed after hours of exhausting work in getting his machine ready for the flight which he expected both would attempt the next day. White was immediately informed of Paulhan's start, and pluckily set out after him with the least possible delay. Paulhan flew one hundred and seventeen miles that night, coming down near Lichfield, sixty-eight miles from Manchester, shortly after eight o'clock. White alighted at Northampton, sixty miles from London, a few minutes earlier. Both aviators were compelled by darkness and cold to come down for the night; but both were under way again at a very early hour, White starting just before three and Paulhan about four o'clock. The victor reached his destination at 5:30, while White came to earth again at four o'clock on account of trouble with his motor. The result of the contest breaks no records for continuous flight, for M. Paulhan had already flown one hundred and thirty miles, from Orléans to Arcis-sur-l'Aube, in France, without landing. But it is only one more illustration of the steady progress which is being made in the conquest of the air. Aeroplanes are becoming more and more efficient and dependable every day, and every day aviators are learning better how to use them. Flights, even with one or two passengers, are becoming matters of common occurrence. Flying is already a recognized sport. The next step, adapting it to usefulness, may come before we know it.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

Last week occurred the French elections for members of the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the French Parliament. While the elections leave the political parties practically in the same position as they were in the old Chamber, the result is considered a strong indorsement for the two principal measures expected to be passed by the new Parliament. The first is a measure of electoral reform whereby the basis of voting is changed from small districts to cover entire departments. For thirty years the vote by district has been in vogue. By removing the deputy from local influence the new electoral system will raise the level of representation. Unmoved, therefore, by petty interests, future parliaments may be able better to govern the country and to prepare the long-advocated reforms planned by those who would give a decentralized system of administration to France, one more in harmony with our times, replacing the obsolete framework devised for a different epoch and different conditions. That this was realized by the late Chamber of Deputies is evident from its vote of over two to one for the proposed electoral reform. In other words, the old electoral

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system could no longer afford free play for the country's present aspirations. The second proposed piece of legislation is the income tax. For sixty years it has been in the radical platforms. Since 1848 no less than seventy bills outlining an income tax have been introduced. A year ago the Chamber of Deputies passed an income tax bill, but the Senate has not yet ratified it. To win that ratification will be one of the new Parliament's principal labors. As both of these measures have already taken firm root in the old Chamber of Deputies, the new Chamber may be considered as in large measure a continuation of the old. Not only in legislation will it be a continuation, but probably also in its attitude toward the Cabinet. The late Parliament was less wasteful of Ministries than some have been. During its tenure three Prime Ministers were sufficient to govern France—M. Sarrien, M. Clemenceau, and M. Briand. Indeed, we might almost say that France had but one Ministry during the late Parliament, for M. Clemenceau was the Minister of the Interior in the Sarrien Cabinet, and M. Briand Minister of Justice in the Clemenceau Cabinet. The Briand policy was impressively approved in last week's election. It appears that the premiership has not left this particular political family.

THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

Ex-President Roosevelt's recent visit to Budapest calls attention to the present endeavor in Hungary to obtain the right sort of legislation. Prime Minister Hedervary has been unable to make headway against the Opposition factions in the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament, the upper house being the House of Magnates. The Premier has now dissolved the Chamber by royal decree. This was the signal for an outbreak by the Opposition, who claimed that the dissolution was unconstitutional. They stormed the tribune and actually bombarded the Ministers with ink-wells and other handy paraphernalia of the Chamber. The Ministers were finally forced to beat a retreat, and the Premier and Minister of Agriculture were struck by flying missiles and their heads cut open. The Opposition parties do not like the Administration's position on the question of universal suffrage. Yet it is difficult to carry through the broad suffrage demanded by the Socialists and other radicals. At present the Chamber of Deputies is elected by a vote of male citizens over twenty years of age who pay a small tax on property or on income. Certain professional, scientific, and learned classes are entitled to vote without other qualifications. The Hungarian electorate consists of about one-fourth of the male population over twenty years of age. Of course this is not a one-man, one-vote system, and that is what many want. With this, they contend, they would have not only a more democratic government, but also one racially more equitable. The Magyars, or Huns, only very slightly exceed half of the population. The remaining peoples are Germans, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Servians. Under the present system the non-Magyar races maintain that they have not the opportunity for proper development because the Magyars hold most of the property and therefore command a disproportionate influence through the suffrage. Count Apponyi, late Hungarian Minister of Education, who, at his castle near Pressburg, entertained Mr. Roosevelt, acknowledges that "the non-Magyars have not been conquered by Magyarization." The question now is, Will they be conquered by a greater democratization?

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON

Norway loved Björnson not only as poet, playwriter, and story-teller, but also as a devoted patriot. When, some years ago, it was reported that he was weary of political turmoil and intended henceforth to live in Germany, he wrote a disclaimer of such an intention, and in it said: "I shall live right here in Norway—I shall thrash and be thrashed in Norway—I shall win and die in Norway—of this you can be sure." Personally, he has been described as a man of powerful frame, of overflowing physical life, and of intense energy of mind and feeling; and a writer in The Outlook a few years ago further characterized his personality and methods by saying: "He is a dynamic worker in every department of life, a born

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lover of life, a writer who has studied his kind at close range, who is in revolt against many traditions and conventions, but who believes in life, in his fellows, in the possibilities of human nature; a great, sunny, exuberant, boyish leader." To most American readers Björnson is probably best known as the author of such charming idyllic tales as "Arne," "A Fisher Lass," and "A Happy Boy," for these stories have had a wide reading in English as well as in many other languages. His lyrical poetry, naturally, is not so well known out of Norway, but has had praise from many critics. His plays and later fiction have dealt largely with heredity and with serious social and moral problems; in this part of his work he has inevitably come into comparison with Ibsen, whose superiority in the frank exposition of the evils and hypocrisy of social life cannot be denied, although Björnson had a simplicity and directness not without power, and certainly individual in its expression. It is said that even as a school-boy Björnson, the son of a Norwegian pastor in a bleak Norwegian village, evinced not only energy, but the spirit of revolt against conventions and rules. At the Christiania University, where he became a close friend of Ibsen, Björnson slighted the regular work, but showed energy in the special things that interested him. Even in these early days he formed the idea of establishing a national literature, called to his aid in this purpose other young men of talent, and urged upon them also the cause of Norwegian independence, which he lived to see firmly established; his earlier strenuous advocacy of a republican form of government yielded in time to the acceptance of a liberal constitutional monarchy, disjoined from Sweden. His first novel, published in 1857, and called "Synnöve Solbakken," was regarded as evidence that a new writer of original power had arisen, and it may be considered as also the beginning of an independent movement in Norwegian literature. Björnson was seventy-seven years of age when he died last week, and to the end he maintained his interest in writing and in public affairs. In 1903 a worthy tribute to his long career was the bestowal upon him of the Nobel prize for literature.

WILL THE CONGO STATE BE REFORMED?

Since the King of the Belgians turned over his sovereignty in the Congo to Belgium, there has been no actual fundamental reform. For two years the natives have continued in a condition which the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs described as "indistinguishable from slavery." Now, at last, however, the Belgian Government, which exercises, whether rightfully or not, the power of sovereignty in the Congo, has announced certain reforms. In order to understand these proposed reforms some knowledge of conditions in the Congo is necessary. Originally among the natives the land was not divided among individual owners, but was owned by the native people as a whole. This was true of the great stretches of forest and wilderness as well as of the limited areas covered by native villages. When the King of the Belgians took up his rule, the Congo State, of which he was the sovereign, appropriated all so-called "vacant lands;" that is, the lands uncovered by native villages. Here in these vacant lands are found the rich growths of rubber. The Congo State, therefore, not the native peoples, became the owner of the most important resources of the country. These resources the State farmed out to great companies. The people of course had to be taxed. The Congo State devised a system by which a moneyless people could be taxed and at the same time the companies could get a stable labor supply. The people had to pay their taxes in labor. Each village had to supply a certain amount of labor. This meant practically a certain amount of rubber. Theoretically the tax was a certain number of hours; but in that amount of time was not reckoned the time consumed in weary journeys to and from the sources of supply. In some cases this tax meant continuous slavery. Out of the enforcement of this policy grew the "atrocities" which have been reported by many and denied by the apologists of the Congo Government. The fundamental evil was not the "atrocities," but the system. White men eager for rubber and endowed with power to force natives to get it for them cannot be watched and controlled in a wild country. Belgium received from the late King

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Leopold II, as a sort of ante-mortem legacy, this evil system. Now the Belgian Government has definitely announced that the labor tax is to be replaced by a money tax in three installments, in one third of the colony on July 1, 1910, in the second third on July 1, 1911, and in the third third on July 1, 1912. A large quantity of nickel coins is to be provided. Moreover, the enforced labor heretofore called for in the construction of public works is to be supplanted by voluntary labor. Still further, the land of the domain of the State (formerly the Crown Domain) will cease to be State property. In this part of the Congo the natives will be allowed to reap and sell the products of the soil. The "domain lands" will be given over to private activity. While the institution of these changes does great credit to the young King, who himself recently visited the Congo, those who have asked for reform and have received apology and explanation and promise may be excused for awaiting the outcome of the announcement with some skepticism. How will the natives be given a chance to get the money for the payment of taxes? Will the Crown Domain become simply a domain for big corporations and special interests? We shall see what we shall see.

LIBERIA AND THE UNITED STATES

The report of the Commission appointed last year to visit Liberia and examine its conditions has just been made to Congress. It is, on the whole, reassuring as compared with the alarming, not to say alarmist, reports about Liberia which appeared previous to the appointment of the Commission. At that time, or shortly after, The Outlook pointed out, through information which reached it directly, that, as a matter of fact, Liberia was not bankrupt and was in no danger of becoming so; that there was no revolution or turbulence, and that the real danger was from the encroachment of the Black Republic's neighbors on either side under claims of securing debts due, and perhaps also through clashes between the frontier forces at the boundaries between Liberia and the British and French possessions. The three Commissioners, Messrs. Falkner, Sale, and Scott, are hopeful of the Liberian future, provided the United States takes toward that country the attitude which they think it should take in view of the fact that in a large measure the existence of Liberia as a republic is due to the action of the United States in 1816, when colonization of freed American negroes and African negroes recaptured from slave-ships was aided by this country, with the result that the Republic of Liberia was established. The Commission finds that, so far as internal affairs are concerned, the Republic is not in difficulties from which it could not easily be extricated under good government. The debt is not larger, comparatively speaking, than that of many other small countries; the customs revenue is collected; the police is in good condition; the judiciary is honest, although not notably learned; and there is some effort to impart education, although much is needed in this regard. Within the last ten years Liberia has lost a strip of land of considerable size to France, whose officials held that this land was not "effectively occupied" by the Liberians. The difficulty with the British was really a difficulty with a single British officer who carried things with a high hand as regards the frontier police, and took action in the way of occupying territory which seemed inconsistent with the assertion of the British Foreign Office that Great Britain had no design on Liberian territory. As we understand it, this officer has been discredited and removed. The recommendations made by the Commission to Congress are thoroughgoing, and it is reported that the State Department would willingly negotiate a treaty based on the recommendations. Under these the United States would offer to aid in settling boundary disputes; to guarantee the Liberian debt, and for this purpose to assume the control and collection of the customs, as was done in Santo Domingo; to assist the Liberian Government in reorganizing its internal financial system; to help in organizing an adequate frontier police force. The Commission still further proposes that the United States establish and maintain a research station in Liberia, and that it reopen the question of establishing a naval coaling station there. The questions involved will doubtless come before Congress very

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soon, and may then be more fully discussed than now seems necessary. Mr. Root once stated, we are informed, that there rests a duty on the United States to assist the Liberians, so far as they need assistance, towards the maintenance of orderly and prosperous civil government.

ARCHAIC PRUSSIA

The lower house of the Prussian Parliament has just passed an electoral bill. It was introduced at the initiative of the German Emperor, who is also King of Prussia, and of the Imperial Chancellor, who is also the Prussian Premier. As proposed, the bill provided for a certain amount of real reform, although it might well have provided for much more. The reason why it did not is not to be ascribed to any reactionary tendencies on the part of Kaiser and Chancellor. They proposed all that they thought a reactionary Prussian Parliament would pass. That their fears were not groundless is shown by the treatment of the bill in the Abgeordnetenhaus, or House of Representatives, the lower house of the Landtag, or Parliament. The upper house is the Herrenhaus, or House of Lords, naturally more conservative than the lower, and hence still less disposed to favor the present bill. The Prussian Parliament, in contrast with the Imperial German Parliament, is a relic of more archaic days. Whereas membership in the Reichstag, the lower house of the Imperial Parliament, rests on a "one man, one vote" suffrage, membership in the Prussian Parliament is dependent on wealth. Electors are divided into three classes according to the amounts of taxation paid. These classes are so arranged that each category pays one-third of the whole amount of taxation levied. The first class consists of those electors who pay the highest taxes, to the amount of one-third of the whole. The second class consists of those who pay the next highest amounts, down to the limits of the second third of the whole. The third class consists of the remainder. This system is absurd. In no fewer than twenty-two hundred electoral districts in Prussia the first class, as defined above, consists of but a single voter. It is easy to see that the third-class voters, necessarily many in number, can be outvoted by a very few voters in the first and second classes. The present measure, as passed, does, however, provide for a little lessening of the burden, though not for as much as the Emperor requested. The voting power of the very wealthy is to be restricted by establishing a limit beyond which their wealth shall not count; and certain office-holders and professional men are to be put in a class beyond that in which their taxes alone would place them. The reform thus begun will, we believe, go on until Prussia becomes as democratized electorally as is the empire of which it forms much the largest part.

FURTHER DEFENSE OF MR. BALLINGER

The appearance of Mr. Ballinger himself on the stand before the Investigating Committee in Congress on Friday of last week naturally overshadows the testimony of those who immediately preceded him. These witnesses were Mr. Finney, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Dudley, formerly Register of the Land Office in Juneau, Alaska; Mr. Heltman, formerly an employee of the Interior Department as Law Examiner; and, finally, Mr. George Otis Smith, Director of the Geological Survey. All four of these men were or have been in the past subordinates of Mr. Ballinger. Under cross-examination Mr. Finney was unable to show that there was any lack of money in the Reclamation Fund for the use of those projects on which water users' certificates were accepted. In another paragraph we tell what these water users' certificates were. It was because Mr. Ballinger's department regarded these certificates as insufficiently secured by funds that it declared them illegal. Mr. Finney also made it evident that he had very little sympathy with the Forest Service as it has been administered, although he could not substantiate with facts his statement implying that the Forest Service treated entrymen unreasonably. Mr. Finney was cross-examined for a long time concerning Attorney-General Wickersham's opinion about Mr. Glavis, but he could furnish no information which would show that certain parts of that opinion were sub-

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stantiated by evidence. Mr. Dudley denied the statement, made in earlier testimony, that he had been offered money to testify before this Committee. Mr. Heltman gave at length information concerning the practice of passing land claims to patent. Of the four, Mr. George Otis Smith, the Director of the Geological Survey, gave the most striking testimony. He declared not only that Mr. Ballinger had permitted him to carry out the same policies that he had pursued under Mr. Garfield, but had actually enabled him to do so more rapidly and effectively. He was very emphatic in giving his views about Mr. Pinchot. He reported Mr. Pinchot as charging him with being disloyal to his former chief, Mr. Garfield, and as expressing a determination to drive Mr. Ballinger from office. In one place Mr. Smith virtually accused Mr. Pinchot of trying to alter Mr. Smith's course of action by threats of publicity. He had severe words for the Forestry Service, and showed little respect for the policy of conservation as it has been presented by Mr. Pinchot. He acknowledged that his former high opinion of Mr. Garfield, who had been his chief, had been distinctly lowered. He declared that he did not know until after Mr. Garfield had left office that under the previous Administration Reclamation withdrawals had been made for the purpose of preserving water power sites. He said that he regarded this as a violation of the law. He gave his views as to what constituted Conservation, which he defined as "utilization with a maximum efficiency and a minimum waste." He declared that resources should not be conserved for the use of succeeding generations at too great an expense to this generation. He was skeptical about Government ownership of coal land, and declared that he wanted to see "some of that coal land pass over to somebody." He confessed that he was not as enthusiastic about the leasing of coal lands as he used to be. Regarding the leasing proposition he uttered a warning about encroaching upon the police powers of the States. He also offered a tribute to Mr. Ballinger. While Mr. Smith was on the stand, the Chairman, Senator Nelson, made several observations which, like others before, indicated that his mind was made up. Twice he expressed hearty approval of a letter which Mr. Smith had written in defense of Mr. Ballinger and attacking Mr. Pinchot, and at other points made sneering remarks about conservation. We leave Mr. Ballinger's testimony for report and comment next week.

HOW TO PAY FOR RECLAMATION

A bill has already passed the Senate to authorize advances to the Reclamation Fund. It is commonly called the Thirty Million Dollar Bond Bill. It authorizes the issue of certificates of indebtedness, which are virtually short-time bonds or notes, to enable the Reclamation Service to extend its work. One reason why this bill has been introduced is because the present Administration has declared that the methods for extending reclamation projects adopted by the preceding Administration were illegal. The bill, however, is unnecessary. Moreover, it involves the expenditure of money by the Government which the former methods did not involve. Still further, it does not, as the other methods did, enlist the enthusiastic co-operation of the people who will use these reclamation projects. Until such other methods are adopted, by Congress if necessary, and shown to be inadequate, the issuance of thirty million dollars of bonds is wasteful and hurtful. This is the situation. The United States Government is engaged in the vast enterprise of bringing water to arid lands. Like the Panama Canal, this enterprise is of such proportions that no lesser organization than a National Government could undertake it. By means of the water which the Government is bringing, these lands are made fit for cultivation and habitation. The people who come to settle upon these reclaimed lands are glad to pay the Government for the cost of the irrigation which has made the land valuable. With the money which they pay, the Government goes ahead to reclaim other land for other people, who in their turn reimburse the Government. Thus these great irrigation projects become self-supporting. Of course the great part of the work is the building of the irrigation reservoirs and

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aqueducts. But equally essential, though comparatively simple to construct, are the lateral ditches which convey the water immediately to the lands irrigated. Homesteaders, anticipating this reclamation, have come to these lands. Of course they have been eager to have the work finished and the water introduced as quickly as possible. In many cases they have said to the Government, We will not ask you to build these connecting ditches; we can join together and build these ditches ourselves; and when we build the ditches we will build them as you say, according to the plans of the Government engineers; all we ask is that when the whole project is finished we be given credit for the work we have done so that we will not have to pay the Government for our own labor, but may be allowed a discount from our water dues in proportion to the work we have severally contributed. The Roosevelt Administration was very glad to take advantage of this offer. It saved the Government money. It relieved the contractors of work which they were not anxious to do. It relieved the Government from doing the work itself. It enlisted the co-operation of the people on the ground. So the Government in the Roosevelt Administration suggested that these settlers unite in organizations which would issue certificates to their individual members in proportion to the work which those individual members should do. In issuing these certificates these water users' associations would have to abide by the decision of the Government engineers as to the character and quantity of the work done. After the work was done these certificates would then form, as it were, a memorandum on which would be based the allowance made to these water users when they came to pay for their share of the project—that is, for the water which would be brought to their farms by the project. This certificate plan, in which the Government was not involved except as it directed the workers and as it was saved money which it would otherwise have had to expend, has been, for some reason of which we do not find any adequate explanation, declared by the present Administration to be illegal. The solution would seem to be simple. Congress should at once pass a law requiring the Secretary of the Interior to accept as valid such water users' certificates.

PUBLICITY FOR CAMPAIGN FUNDS

The McCall Campaign Publicity Bill has passed the House of Representatives. Not only has it passed, but, barring one member, the House voted for it unanimously. The bill's fate now rests with the Senate. Senator Burrows, of Michigan, Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, is in a position to hasten or hinder its progress. The opposition shown by the Michigan radicals to the Senator's own re-election may cause him to placate them by hastening the bill's consideration. The present measure represents the fruit of long struggle by those who believe that secret campaign contributions are the direct allies of corruption. After Mr. Roosevelt's election to the Presidency in 1904 public opinion had become sufficiently aroused to compel the passage of a bill prohibiting corporations from making campaign contributions in any Federal elections. Thenceforth life insurance companies, industrial trusts, and railway corporations must defy the law if they contributed to campaign expenses. Nor were the States idle. About twenty States now have statutes providing publicity. In Massachusetts the law applies to all State, city, and other local committees. But a National Committee might spend a million dollars in Massachusetts and not make any return. In 1908, however, the New York State Corrupt Practices Act was practically adopted by the National party organizations. Spontaneously the Republican National Committee followed its provisions, and published the names of the contributors to the Presidential campaign fund, with the amounts contributed. This praiseworthy example was followed by the Democratic National Committee. It is now desirable to pass a law which shall *compel* National Committees to make their accountings public. The law should also apply to National Congressional Campaign Committees. These things are provided for by the measure introduced by Representative McCall, of Massachusetts. In his Message to Congress at the beginning of the present session President Taft

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emphatically favored the provisions of such a bill. Its passage at this session would be peculiarly appropriate, as elections for members of Congress will be held this year in all the States. Those Senators who oppose its passage will have to bear the just accusation that, in their desperate view of the political situation, they are counting on the use of money, rather than their party's record, to win for them victory at the polls. It is doubtless impossible entirely to prevent the use of money furnished indirectly to candidates for political place or in their interest. But we may well feel that when candidates are required by State laws to publish their expenditures, when State Committees are compelled to do the same, and when Congressional and National Committees are also directed to make a public accounting, the chances for corruption will have been much decreased. Human nature is still so imperfect that to receive and expend funds under a sense of public accountability is to most men a different thing than to receive and expend with only private accountability. Thus publicity is corruption's enemy.

A NEW PAN-AMERICAN TEMPLE

Last week at Washington the beautful white marble home of the International Bureau of American Republics was dedicated. It occupies a peculiarly attractive site—a five-acre tract facing the open grounds below the White House, near the Washington Monument and overlooking Potomac Park and the Potomac River. The building cost $750,000, the generous gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. The land and equipment cost $250,000, appropriated by the twenty-one American Republics. The architecture differs from prevailing Washington types, and recalls well-known Latin-American styles. As in other Spanish structures, the building surrounds a central patio, or courtyard; this contains a fountain designed by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, a daughter of the late Cornelius Vanderbilt, which stands amidst a wealth of plants and flowers significant of the South. The next notable feature is the great Assembly Room, to be known as the Hall of the Republics. At last Washington has a room sufficiently large, dignified, and elegant to be the proper place for international conferences, diplomatic functions, and receptions to foreigners. Last week's was certainly a diplomatic function; and the representatives of the Republics present listened with marked attention to President Taft as he expressed the hope that the time would soon come when "any nineteen of the American Republics can say to the other two, 'You shall not fight.'" Such a sentence carries special weight since within the past few days our Government has been called upon to exercise its influence to prevent war between Peru and Ecuador. To do just this is a primary purpose of the Bureau of American Republics, under its efficient director, Mr. Barrett. The great Bolivar wanted to create a Pan-American Bureau. But he did not realize that it could not succeed unless fathered by the Western hemisphere's most progressive Republic. Since, at Mr. Blaine's initiative, Bolivar's idea has been realized, our leadership has been, not overbearing or tyrannical, but, to use Secretary Knox's words at the dedication, "simply as a co-laborer." With such an ideal there is resultant sympathy. As Senator Root said in his speech, "There is so much more good than evil in men that liking comes by knowing." Mr. Carnegie then summed up the country's present attitude:

> Two men differ. If strangers, the probable result is strife. Two friends differ. The probable result is a peaceful settlement by themselves, or, failing in that, by the arbitration of friends, and the two friends become dearer to each other than ever before. That is because neither has assumed to sit as judge in his own case. . . . The greatest crime which man or nation can commit is to insist upon doing that which would consign a judge on the bench to infamy. The crime of war gives victory, not to the nation which is right, but to that which is strong. The most momentous declaration yet made on this subject by a chief of a nation was that by President Taft recently, when he proclaimed that all international disputes, with no exception, should be settled by arbitration.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE

Secretary Knox has transmitted to Congress a request for an appropriation continuing the American Government's share in

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the International Institute of Agriculture. The appropriation should be granted. The Institute was formed in 1905 by international treaty, forty-eight nations subscribing, and Rome was chosen as the meeting-place for the delegates. Chief among them was Mr. David Lubin, of San Francisco, the originator of the idea of the Institute. Mr. Lubin had already interested King Victor Emmanuel in his plan, and the King has since erected a beautiful building for the use of the delegates. The structure stands on the borders of the historic Borghese Gardens. The principal purpose of the Institute is to furnish proper information concerning the supply of agricultural products. The law of supply and demand determines the price of these products. The demand, so far as the number of consumers is concerned, is fairly manifest. Not so with the supply. The most civilized nations, including our own, have crop-reporting bureaus and departments. But each of these reports in its own way, and the mass of information needs to be co-ordinated. Most nations, moreover, have no crop-reporting system at all. Yet the world's supply must be made up from all sources, and the world's price is based on a summary of the world's supply. As that estimated summary is necessarily unreliable, there is constant price fluctuation. Equity in the formation of the prices will of course come about only when the world supply is known. It is just here that the work of an International Institute of Agriculture is necessary, and Mr. Lubin's Institute was founded primarily to collect, study, and publish as promptly as possible statistical, technical, and economic information concerning farming products, both vegetable and animal; concerning the commerce in agricultural products and the prices prevailing in the various markets. In addition the Institute investigates wages paid for farm work in various parts of the world, and is thus able properly to direct the flood of emigration. The Institute makes known the new diseases of vegetables, showing the territories infected and the remedies effective in combating them. It studies questions concerning agricultural co-operation, insurance, and credit, and finally submits to the approval of the various Governments measures for the protection of the common interests of farmers. Such an Institute should be useful to the agricultural interests of every country.

HELP THE ARMENIANS

Sixty thousand Armenians are starving. Who will help them? The downfall of Abd-ul-Hamid at the hands of the Young Turks a year ago was accompanied by the tragic massacre of Armenian Christians. In Cilicia, the province on the northeast end of the Mediterranean, hordes of fanatical Mohammedans, jealous of the prosperity of their Armenian neighbors, killed them with more fiendish cruelties than had ever before been known in Asia Minor. Thirty thousand were put to the sword or clubbed to death. Their property was looted. The Christian quarters of the towns were burned to the ground. The widows and orphans of the martyred Christians, desolate among the black ruins of their homes, are facing death through exposure, disease, and starvation. What is done for these people should be done instantly. At Constantinople an International Relief Committee has been formed under the new Sultan's patronage. Thus the relief work has the new Government's sanction and appreciation. The Committee, in which are members of the Diplomatic Corps, has for its President Mr. W. W. Peet, Treasurer of the American Missions in Turkey, prominent in the management of relief work in Turkey since the massacres a decade and more ago. Mr. Peet thus appeals to his countrymen: "If you can do anything for us, please do it. Act quickly." He reports that at Zeitun alone $10,000 is needed to give grain to the destitute. Hence, in response to an urgent appeal from the International Relief Committee, an Armenian Relief Association has been formed in this country. Bishop Greer, of New York, is President of the Association, and Governor Hughes is the first Vice-President. Dr. Elgin R. L. Gould is Chairman of the Executive Committee. The office of the Association is at 31 Broadway, with Mr. Herant M. Kiretchjian as General Secretary. Mr. Kiretchjian, who was active in relief work during the earlier massacres, states that the expenses of the Association, incident to the office

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work and the sending of appeals, will be borne by an auxiliary committee of Armenian young men of New York City, so that every cent contributed by churches and individuals will be sent out intact to relieve the widows and orphans in whose behalf the appeal of the International Committee has come to the people of the United States. Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., 59 Wall Street, will act as depository of the funds. Those who would contribute should remember that "he gives twice who gives quickly."

THE POOR SEALS

The question, What shall we do with the seals? has now been answered. The Paris Tribunal of Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States prescribed a sixty-mile zone from the Pribylov Islands within which seals should not be taken out of the Pacific. But the provision has been nugatory through its restrictions to vessels operated under the protection of the American and British Governments. The immune zone has become to Japanese sealers the most inviting field for hunting just because the sealing craft of other nations are forbidden to enter it. With nearly forty schooners, carrying about two hundred and fifty small boats, the Japanese have formed a cordon through which the breeding females, when driven to the open sea in search of food, could penetrate only with the certainty of the slaughter of many of their number. In the slaughter of many years prior to the Paris arbitration all the nations interested have participated. When Alaska was turned over to the United States, there were more than four million seals in Pribylov Island waters. Now there are about one hundred thousand. Accordingly, negotiations have been taken up in the Nation's interest by our State Department, for the only way to stop destruction of the seal herd is by international negotiations and agreement. We propose to do our part by prohibiting any killing of seals except under the authority of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The bill in Congress to this end was about to be referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, when it was objected that seals may be regarded not only as a natural but also as a National resource, and that the measure should be referred to the newly erected Committee on the Conservation of National Resources. In the debate Senator Root referred to the Bering Sea Tribunal's decision that seals were not natural resources, hence the bill should be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. On the other hand, Senator Nelson opposed that committee reference because a measure referring only to the killing of seals on United States territory bore no relation to the conduct of any foreign nation, but was strictly a question affecting the natural and National resources of the country. Mr. Nelson's views prevailed, and the bill was referred to the new Committee, of which Senator Dixon, of Montana, is the energetic Chairman. The Committee promptly and favorably reported the bill, and the Senate, we are glad to say, passed it as promptly. Later the House did likewise. We have thus shown our good faith in the matter.

A NOTEWORTHY TRIBUTE

The Richmond (Virginia) papers lately gave an account of a tribute paid by the Westmoreland Club of that city to an old negro servant. Nathan Moore for over thirty-one years was in the employ of this Club, and for a number of years was its head doorkeeper. On his left arm he wore six gold service stripes, one for each five years of continuous service, and on each Christmas he received five dollars for each stripe as a mark of esteem from the members. Though for a number of months past unable because of ill health to attend to his duties, he had been retained on the Club's pay-roll, and his post kept open for him in the event of his recovery. At the funeral the members of the Club, which we believe is the oldest and most aristocratic club in the city, assembled at the club-house and marched in a body to the Second Baptist Church (colored) to attend the service—"an honor," says a Richmond paper, "that has never been paid even to a member of the Club." The incident is worth recording for the benefit of Northern readers, who are apt to imagine that the only attentions paid to negroes in the South are those rendered by lynching parties.

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A HOLY ALLIANCE

The Outlook agrees absolutely and without qualification with the principles defined by Mr. Roosevelt in his Nobel address, published on another page.

There are two ways of securing national peace: by being so weak that we cannot fight; by being so strong that we do not need to fight. The Outlook believes in the second method; it disbelieves in the first.

Again: we can attempt to persuade the nations to discard the implements of war, and so make war impossible; or we can persuade the nations to provide some other method than war for the fulfillment of their duty, and so make war unnecessary. The Outlook believes in the second method; it disbelieves in the first.

The function of government is to protect persons and property. To protect them from wrong-doers within the nation, it has sheriffs, constables, police, militia. To protect them from wrong-doers without the nation, it has an army and a navy. Time was when the private castle was surrounded by a moat, approached by a drawbridge, through a portcullis, with armed men to keep watch against enemies. The moat and drawbridge and portcullis and armed men have disappeared, because there are courts to determine the issues between private citizens, and police to enforce the decrees of the courts. Forts and navies and big guns will disappear from our harbors when we have an International Court to determine the issues between nations, and adequate means to enforce the decrees of such a court. For this three successive steps are necessary:

I. An agreement among civilized nations to submit their controversies to arbitration; in other words, to substitute the appeal to reason for the appeal to force. Such agreements as between one nation and another have already been made by most of the civilized nations, and they have been carried into effect in a sufficient number of important cases to prove that the ideal is practicable of realization.

II. The establishment of a permanent Court of Judicature to which all international controversies shall be referred as a matter of course, in lieu of the creation of sporadic courts of arbitration created after the controversy arises for the purpose of settling it. The civilized nations of the earth have agreed on the desirability of constituting such a Supreme Court of International Law, although they have not yet agreed on the method by which it should be constituted.

III. The third step, *power* to enforce the decisions of such a tribunal, has not been taken. It is not probable that any nation would now consent to turn over its navy to such a Supreme Court and trust wholly to that court and to the navy under its control for protection. But Mr. Roosevelt points out how a first step in that direction might be taken even now:

> Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power, competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought themselves of committing aggressions. The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

For example: Suppose Great Britain, the United States, and Japan were to enter into a treaty providing that if one of these nations were attacked, the other two would come to its defense; that no one nation would attack without the approval of at least one of the other two; and that all questions arising between the three contracting nations should be submitted to the Hague Tribunal. The joint navies would be a guarantee of peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions. Such a treaty would not guarantee a world peace, but it would guarantee peace so far as these three nations are concerned, and it would render unnecessary any increase of armaments by them for defensive purposes, since all three navies would be available for the defense of each nation.

We suggest Great Britain, Japan, and the United States to initiate this movement because Great Britain represents the West, Japan the East, and the United States stands midway between the two; and all

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three Powers have efficient navies. But such a treaty might be made between any three world Powers that had each a navy adequate to make it an efficient factor in preserving peace by enforcement of law. Any three of the following Powers might make such a tripartite treaty: France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the United States. Possibly Austria, Russia, and Spain should be added to the list.

Such a tripartite treaty, whoever made it, might at the time proffer to the others a request to join on the same terms. Or any one of these nations might offer publicly to make such a treaty with any other two of the naval Powers that would join with it in so doing. We need not wait for *all* the nations to join in such a peace-making combination. If any three great naval Powers should join in such a combination, it would furnish an object-lesson and an inspiration to the rest. It would be a first step toward lessening naval armaments, because a first step toward getting rid of the necessity for them. It would be a true "holy alliance," because it would be an alliance for peace, order, and international well-being.

A GAIN AND A LOSS

Governor Hughes has accepted the appointment, offered him by President Taft, to the position upon the bench of the Supreme Court made vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Brewer. The appointment will not take effect until October, when the Court will meet after its summer recess.

We believe that Mr. Hughes will make a good judge, and that he will add strength to the Supreme Court. He has never occupied judicial position, so that the belief cannot be predicated upon direct experience of his past career. But he is an able lawyer; his knowledge of the law is broad, thorough, and extensive. He is young, as Justices of the Supreme Court go—his forty-eight years contrasting favorably with the sixty-six years of his immediate predecessor in appointment. His experience in public life has all been gained during the new era in which so many fresh problems of industrial, commercial, and National life have created new conditions to which the interpretation of our Constitutional and statutory law must be applied. His creation of the Public Service Commissions, and his veto of the Long Sault Charter, to cite only two examples, indicate that in dealing with the great question of corporation control and regulation his first thought is for the interest of all the people. But they indicate no less that he recognizes the corporation as a great instrument of modern industry which needs, not to be hampered, but to be regulated in the public interest. His intrepid and persistent fight against the race-track gambling laws, about to be brought to a triumphant conclusion in the enactment of supplementary legislation, displayed a deep reverence for the fundamental law and an implacable hatred of every attempt at legislative evasion or nullification of that law. He knows life. Not, perhaps, in the sense that he has had in any large measure personal experience of the actual conditions of modern industry and business, but in a more important sense. In interpreting a particular law it is not essential that a judge should know from his own experience the exact part of life which it touches. But it is vitally essential that he should be interested in that life. It is only too easy for the judge, secluded in his study and isolated by the very conditions of his office from the currents of life which legislation aims to control and direct, to become absorbed in the law, its judge-made precedents and interpretations, its fine-spun distinctions and delicate shades of meaning. To the extent that he prefers these cold abstractions to the warm facts of life he is in danger of sacrificing justice to legalism. From this danger Mr. Hughes, we believe, will be free. His veto of the two-cent-fare bill and the Coney Island five-cent-fare bill shows his conviction that legislation should be related to the actual facts of life rather than based upon *a priori* theories. He is interested in life. He does not permit his lawyer's love of the law to blind him to vital conditions.

But while we recognize the value to the Supreme Court of the accession of such a man, we cannot help feeling a deep regret that Mr. Hughes is to be removed from

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the sphere of active public life in which his influence has been so widely, so deeply, and so wholesomely felt. At a time when the long-continued sway of an old political régime of bargain and sale and growing adherence to relaxed moral standards in the business world has made the hour ripe for such a personality, he has been an impelling moral force. He has had a great part in bringing the dawn of a new era in politics and in raising the standards of commercial life. He has bound men to him by the very strength of his moral earnestness, by his sincerity, by his repudiation of every suggestion of compromise on matters of principle. His departure from active public life will be a keen loss not only to his own community, but to the whole Nation.

A BAD BILL

The Senate, after adding twelve million dollars to the Rivers and Harbors Bill, as reported from the House of Representatives, proceeded to pass this bill, despite the protest of the Senator who perhaps knows more about the subject than all the rest of his colleagues together. We refer to the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, long Chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and now Senator from Ohio.

Mr. Burton has blocked the appropriation of many millions of dollars demanded year after year for unworthy or unwise river and harbor appropriations. He opposes the present bill not primarily because the sum of fifty-two million dollars is involved. He opposes it—and we oppose it—because the bill is immoral.

The measure contradicts the record of the years since 1902, when the Army Board of Engineers was created. Since then only projects having the Board's indorsement have been included in rivers and harbors bills. But the present measure contains ten items examined and rejected by the Board as unworthy of adoption! They are doubtless more useful in their political than in their economic aspect. The vehement support given by their Congressional sponsors to them reminds us that the most undeserving projects are often presented with the greatest pressure. The assurance displayed in offering some of these items is remarkable in face of President Taft's views on waterway improvements, as expressed on his trip down the Mississippi last autumn. He declared that he would not tolerate "pork barrel" appropriations. "Every measure that is to be adopted," said he, "must be on the ground that it is useful to the country at large, and not on the ground that it is going to send certain men back to Congress, or on the ground that it is going to make a certain part of the country prosperous at the expense of the many." The objectionable items in the present measure are objectionable because, if an expert commission has rejected them, we must believe that they were introduced chiefly to make some members of Congress "solid" with their constituents. Such legislation is essentially immoral.

Moreover, the bill is unscientific. A scientific measure would consider items in order of merit. It would emphasize, first, the streams of considerable size, like the Hudson and Ohio Rivers, upon which large cities or great industrial centers are located; next, short rivers, like the Monongahela, in busy industrial sections; and only lastly the minor streams. In the present measure the emphasis is misplaced.

Finally, the bill marks the continuation of a "dribbling" policy. We persist in making partial appropriations for a multitude of improvements, without providing for their completion. The present measure includes about four hundred and fifty projects. Three-fourths of the items are for projects under way. Of course the magnitude of a proposed improvement sometimes justifies the undertaking of only a portion at one time; but this does not detract from the general rule that, whenever possible, the Government's public works should be provided for in one bill, and pushed to early completion. Under our system of piecemeal appropriation the full use of an improved stream or harbor is long delayed. Take for illustration Sandy Bar Harbor in Massachusetts. The completion of this harbor will cost over five million dollars. During the past quarter of a century one million five hundred thousand dollars has been spent upon it. The present measure carries a

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charge for it of but a hundred thousand dollars. At that rate of progress, fifty-one years more will be required to complete the harbor, or a total of seventy-six years!

The present bill, then, is immoral, unscientific, uneconomical. Despite these salient facts, Senator Burton was overruled by an overwhelming majority, and the measure sent to a conference between delegates from the Senate and House to determine its final character. If not reformed there, such a bill is, we submit, a good one for the Presidential veto.

This in any event. But it especially calls for veto now that there has been time to digest the excellent waterway reform plan proposed by President Roosevelt's Inland Waterway Commission.

And most particularly does it call for veto, for it flatly contradicts President Taft's views concerning Governmental economy.

WHO ARE THE EXPERTS?

If it is true that obedience to the laws of moral and physical health is essential for clearness of vision and soundness of judgment, that the violation of those laws develops a self-consciousness which distorts the surface of that reflecting mirror in which the image of the world and of life is seen, that the man who violates the fundamental law loses the clear perception of that law, and, by destroying his harmony with the vital tides that flow through the universe, diminishes the volume of the stream of inspiration which feeds his genius, and so becomes more and more self-centered, then it is not difficult to discriminate between those who feel deeply certain kinds of experience or see clearly certain facts of life and those who survey the whole field of life and feel deeply in themselves or through the imagination the full appeal of all its experiences.

To possess the authority of an expert a man must share in the movement of life, because in no other way can he understand that movement. This does not mean that he can understand only those things which happen to him; it means that the man who would understand must enter into life sympathetically; for, while the intellect is the organ of observation, there is another faculty which we call the heart or spirit or soul, which divines that which, behind events and characteristics and actions, inspires and explains them. The cool-minded spectator who looks at life from a detached point of view often makes shrewd comments, but never penetrates to the soul of that which he studies. He seizes salient characteristics and hits off habits and manners with keen and often brilliant effectiveness, but he does not understand the nature whose external traits he sees with a practiced eye. This is the fundamental defect which makes the cynic a partial observer and a shallow thinker; he never gets below the surface of things.

What a man does greatly, said Goethe, he must do with his whole nature; with body, mind, and heart. The truth of this maxim is confirmed by every great work of art; to omit the contribution of any one of these original forces is to diminish the range and impair the completeness of the piece of sculpture, the painting, or the poem. What is called inspiration is part of that full and rich forth-putting of a man's genius which not only involves powerful or beautiful expression, but some measure of divination, using that word to indicate a certain instinctive movement of a man's spirit sympathetically entering into the spirit of another. Many interpretations of races and peoples fail to touch the secrets of character or to uncover the sources of power because they are unsympathetic; in other words, they are written from the outside, and no vital process or creature can be explained by observation alone.

Divination does not mean suspension of judgment, any more than inspiration means exclusion of intellect; it means penetration to the informing spirit, instead of diffusion of attention over the surface. Many foreign critics have written books about this country; a few have been entertaining, more have been exasperating, the majority have been worthless; these attempted explanations of American society have failed because they have been written from the outside and the faculty of observation has taken the place of the imagination, the affections, those deep human instincts which have been made keen by thousands of years of vital human

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fellowships. The sympathetic intelligence, as Goethe has intimated, is the only genuinely critical intelligence, because nothing can be understood until it is seen from the standpoint of its purpose, or of the circumstances out of which it grew, or of the masses who hold it in a passion of conviction and faith. A feeling so deep that it is instinctive must be felt with, so to speak, to be understood; that is to say, a critic must generate the same feeling in himself.

This is the law of all art, the vital quality of genius. There are effective actors whose dramatic portrayals are solely the product of observation; who, with infinite patience, build up a character by numberless minute strokes until it is like a delicate and subtle robe worn over the body, and yet so magically woven that it seems to be the body itself. This is not the method, however, of the masters of acting. It has been the habit of many of those who have had the power to evoke smiles and tears at will to go to the theater an hour before the curtain rises, and so identify themselves with the parts they were about to take that on the stage they were none other than Hamlet or Othello or Richelieu; thinking as they thought, feeling as they felt, acting as they would have acted.

In fiction a deep gulf separates the novelists who observe minutely from those who divine the very soul of the imaginary persons they call into being. In this period, when education of a very thorough kind is within reach of many men and women, there are scores of well-written novels in which close observation and what may be called manual dexterity are substituted for divination and that flexible and liberating ease which we call art. These stories are so clever, so full of keen observation, so true in detail, that they are often accepted as true works of art; but their lack of the interior vision sooner or later sends them to the vast storage-room to which men relegate all the things in art that they make with their hands alone.

It is easy to believe that when Thackeray finished the famous scene between Lord Steyne and Rawdon Crawley which is the crisis of "Vanity Fair," an exclamation of admiration came involuntarily from his lips, and that when Colonel Newcome died, a sense of almost irreparable loss gave the day a sadness which was as real as if a human being had gone out of life. The novelist was an observer of almost unrivaled clearness of vision, but he was also a man of great heart. It is as idle to attempt to portray what we call life without feeling as to portray a landscape without feeling. It is impossible exactly to define this elusive quality, but without it the man stands helpless outside the subject; he may see a thousand things that relate to it, but the informing soul of it he does not see. For this reason the cynic can never be an expert in the knowledge of life; his evidence with reference to a small group of facts has weight and often has very great interest, but when it touches the meaning and structure of life as a whole it is worthless.

THE SPECTATOR

Properly speaking, the Spectator was not a spectator at all when the events began. He was the prime and principal actor, entirely against his will, and only gradually did other figures appear from the obscurity which his self-absorption had created. He had been accumulating a cold for perhaps two months, by constantly overlaying the nucleus with successive additions, until he at last consented to call it grippe—in order to meet the demand of sympathetic friends. The next thing he knew—and he was never exactly certain how it happened—he was down in bed, in the middle of a bright autumn afternoon, while a Swiss doctor, a German nurse, and the distracted little Irish maid who took care of his apartment seemed to be holding a concert of the Powers over him. A friend or two hovered in the background, but at this crisis neither they nor the Spectator appeared to consider them worth taking into account. The doctor was a good sort of chap, even with all his specializing, and his hesitation when it came to pronouncing sentence did credit to the human heart of him. But he finally got it out, and the Spectator assumed as nonchalant an air as was compatible with a hundred and two degrees of temperature. He wanted to let the doctor down easy, but "Tuberculosis,

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second stage," might just as well have been followed by "The Lord have mercy on your soul," for he felt himself a dead man.

The doctor, however, took a cheerful view of it. In fact, it didn't seem to occur to him that the Spectator wouldn't fight—and win. Thus prodded, he tried to rally his cowardly nerves and to stop thinking of wills and notaries public. Anyhow, he was tired, and the assembled peace conference might send or take him where it chose, or bury him forthwith, omitting further ceremony. "There's a place not far from New York," said the doctor, "where they'll have you all right again before long." But even the best of doctors' "all right" is a dubious quantity under such circumstances. The Spectator had been brought up in the old belief that tuberculosis was just another name for demise, and he took that doctor's statement *cum grano salis*.

However, if there was any place better suited to die in than a studio-apartment, and that place could be reached, no matter by what exertion, he would put no obstacles in the way. Besides, he had heard the polyglot assembly mention mountains, and he would like to see the Catskills, he told himself, with the wistful self-pity of the thoroughly scared invalid, "once more!" So a trunk was hastily packed—the German nurse and the Irish maid in a state of suppressed merriment over each other's speech, thereby somewhat diverting the patient—and then he and the nurse rolled away to the ferry in a taxi, she watching the dial with a child-like interest and he conscious only that he was very tired and that the nurse was very pretty.

But the day was generous to his temper of weariness and despondency. Never had the river, the Palisades, the later vision of mountains, shown themselves to him in such warm-hearted glory. Sometimes they seemed unearthly in their magical changes of form and tint, and sometimes they reminded him that, after all, earth is good and a return to enjoyment therein better than notaries public. After this feast of gorgeous color and a quite irrelevant cup of bouillon which the nurse somehow conjured out of a tea-basket, and just as the early dusk was setting in, the first stage of their journey ended—ended at a little station in nowise different from those they had been passing. There the pretty German Frau gave him over to a Swedish boy in charge of a sanatorium carriage. It was an open carriage. The evening was clear but crisp, with the first frostiness of November.

"Isn't there a closed carriage?" the Spectator asked in dismay; he might be marked for dissolution, but he preferred traveling the remaining distance in safer shelter. The boy shook his head. The Spectator climbed in reluctantly, cowered down among the thick robes, and bade the good nurse farewell with fervent meaning in his tone. But he only allowed himself one audible soliloquy: "Well, they must have so many invalids in their institution that they can afford to lose a few now and then." The boy said nothing. His business was to drive. And he did drive at a fair pace, up and up through the foothills; and, oh! how the pure air, fragrant with the woodsiness of late autumn, poured into the traveler's lungs and blew away the choky memories of the half air and half water which they had been so recently trying to breathe! Then it was that the Spectator began to realize the fresh-air principle of the cure to which he was coming, and that the open carriage was a part of the plan and not an indication of recklessness.

The drive took half an hour, and in that time the dusk deepened into twilight and the stars shone out. For the first time the Spectator felt a flash of hope, a thrill of courage in the veins which had seemed to be running only water since the blow had fallen. In that air, with the mystical deep sapphire of newly fallen night about him, and under stars of such size and brilliancy as never shone through studio skylight, it came to him that to be exiled in such a place might not prove a hardship even with the ball and chain attachment his illness seemed. Perhaps

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he should have to stay always. Just here they passed a flock of sheep in pasture, dim gray, like mere patches of formless moonlight, and a sheep bell clinked encouragingly to him, while from a pretty cottage a deep orange light made bars of color against the hill.

The Spectator prides himself on possessing imagination, and before the great campus of the sanatorium appeared he was under the spell of that twilight enchantment. Later, the few details of entrance having been arranged, and all the comfortable things having been done to him, including the appearance (and rapid despatch) of a good, substantial supper, he was wheeled out through the big French window of his room, all in a soft white bed with *lots* of blankets, there to watch from the wide veranda the friendly stars again, and to sleep such a sleep of refreshment, of hope, and of utter irresponsibility as to carry him through to sunrise and the little nurse's question as she took his pulse, "And how are you feeling this morning?" He was feeling distinctly better; but that was only the beginning of it. As he slowly came to life and began to know the ways of the place, he found much at which to wonder, then more and more to give him confidence in modern methods applied in a consistent way. There were no fads—there was no foolish dissembling to patients. Those whom he met were simply average men and women (and sometimes scarcely more than boys and girls) with nothing in either appearance or manner to drain his sympathies, as he had rather selfishly feared. There was an abundance of good humor, but none of the lurid attempts at gayety that a clever woman of his acquaintance had predicted when she said, "Oh, don't go to a sanatorium; you'll never be able to stand the everlasting *cheerfulness* of the place!" Just air, food, exercise; was it possible that they could work such wonders? That they could and did was owing to the way in which they were used: scientifically, common-sensibly, always gauged to the individual need. This much was evident even to the lay mind of the Spectator; and, once more the interested looker-on, he watched these agencies at work with deepening confidence and growing enthusiasm.

From week to week acquaintances packed trunks, which had perforce been packed for them when they came up to "the life-saving station," and sped away home, cured! Not all—no; for patients were not restricted to those alone who had the disease only in its incipiency. All could not recover, but the percentage of those who did not was very small. When the Spectator learned that this most dreaded disease can be, in most cases, as surely cured as whooping-cough, under the constant and careful supervision of those who have made it a study, he thought of the will he had been so anxious to make, and smiled in the superior wisdom that experience had vouchsafed him. And out of these many weeks of sanatorium life he has brought, like the hundreds of other patients who have been through it, a memory of days and nights spent in the open air; of sitting or lying out in the sunshine—sometimes it was the rain instead—in the starlight or the snow; of warm wrappings, of cushions and steamer-chairs. There were memories, too, of pleasant acquaintances picked up along the way like those on the deck of an ocean liner. But most of all persisted the memory of an indomitable spirit in command of this ship of the mountains, an incarnate one of steady hopefulness, strength, and encouragement. And under this direction the body of doctors, nurses, dietitians, and chemists, working, planning, administering; while the patients accepted life at their hands, even, sometimes, with scarcely a thought of all that such skill and organization stand for.

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE NOBEL PRIZE COMMITTEE DELIVERED AT CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY, MAY 5, 1910

IT is with peculiar pleasure that I stand here to-day to express the deep appreciation I feel of the high honor conferred upon me by the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize. The gold medal which formed part of the prize I shall always keep, and I shall hand it on to my children as a precious heirloom. The sum of money provided as part of the prize by the wise generosity of the illustrious founder of this world-famous prize system I did not, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, feel at liberty to keep. I think it eminently just and proper that in most cases the recipient of the prize should keep for his own use the prize in its entirety. But in this case, while I did not act officially as President of the United States, it was nevertheless only because I was President that I was enabled to act at all; and I felt that the money must be considered as having been given me in trust for the United States. I therefore used it as a nucleus for a foundation to forward the cause of industrial peace, as being well within the general purpose of your Committee; for in our complex industrial civilization of to-day the peace of righteousness and justice, the only kind of peace worth having, is at least as necessary in the industrial world as it is among nations. There is at least as much need to curb the cruel greed and arrogance of part of the world of capital, to curb the cruel greed and violence of part of the world of labor, as to check a cruel and unhealthy militarism in international relationships.

We must ever bear in mind that the great end in view is righteousness, justice as between man and man, nation and nation, the chance to lead our lives on a somewhat higher level, with a broader spirit of brotherly good will one for another. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. We despise and abhor the bully, the brawler, the oppressor, whether in private or public life; but we despise no less the coward and the voluptuary. No man is worth calling a man who will not fight rather than submit to infamy or see those that are dear to him suffer wrong. No nation deserves to exist if it permits itself to lose the stern and virile virtues; and this without regard to whether the loss is due to the growth of a heartless and all-absorbing commercialism, to prolonged indulgence in luxury and soft effortless ease, or to the deification of a warped and twisted sentimentality.

Moreover, and above all, let us remember that words count only when they give expression to deeds or are to be translated into them. The leaders of the Red Terror prattled of peace while they steeped their hands in the blood of the innocent; and many a tyrant has called it peace when he has scourged honest protest into silence. Our words must be judged by our deeds; and in striving for a lofty ideal we must use practical methods; and if we cannot attain all at one leap, we must advance towards it step by step, reasonably content so long as we do actually make some progress in the right direction.

Now, having freely admitted the limitations to our work, and the qualifications to be borne in mind, I feel that I have the right to have my words taken seriously when I point out where, in my judgment, great advance can be made in the cause of international peace. I speak as a practical man, and whatever I now advocate I actually tried to do when I was for the time being the head of a great nation, and keenly jealous of its honor and interest. I ask other nations to do only what I should be glad to see my own nation do.

The advance can be made along several

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lines. First of all, there can be treaties of arbitration. There are, of course, states so backward that a civilized community ought not to enter into an arbitration treaty with them, at least until we have gone much further than at present in securing some kind of international police action. But all really civilized communities should have effective arbitration treaties among themselves. I believe that these treaties can cover almost all questions liable to arise between such nations, if they are drawn with the explicit agreement that each contracting party will respect the other's territory and its absolute sovereignty within that territory, and the equally explicit agreement that (aside from the very rare cases where the nation's honor is vitally concerned) all other possible subjects of controversy will be submitted to arbitration. Such a treaty would insure peace unless one party deliberately violated it. Of course, as yet there is no adequate safeguard against such deliberate violation, but the establishment of a sufficient number of these treaties would go a long way towards creating a world opinion which would finally find expression in the provision of methods to forbid or punish any such violation.

Secondly, there is the further development of the Hague Tribunal, of the work of the conferences and courts at The Hague. It has been well said that the first Hague Conference framed a Magna Charta for the nations; it set before us an ideal which has already to some extent been realized, and towards the full realization of which we can all steadily strive. The second Conference made further progress; the third should do yet more. Meanwhile the American Government has more than once tentatively suggested methods for completing the Court of Arbitral Justice, constituted at the second Hague Conference, and for rendering it effective. It is earnestly to be hoped that the various Governments of Europe, working with those of America and of Asia, shall set themselves seriously to the task of devising some method which shall accomplish this result. If I may venture the suggestion, it would be well for the statesmen of the world, in planning for the erection of this world court, to study what has been done in the United States by the Supreme Court. I cannot help thinking that the Constitution of the United States, notably in the establishment of the Supreme Court and in the methods adopted for securing peace and good relations among and between the different States, offers certain valuable analogies to what should be striven for in order to secure, through the Hague courts and conferences, a species of world federation for international peace and justice. There are, of course, fundamental differences between what the United States Constitution does and what we should even attempt at this time to secure at The Hague; but the methods adopted in the American Constitution to prevent hostilities between the States, and to secure the supremacy of the Federal Court in certain classes of cases, are well worth the study of those who seek at The Hague to obtain the same results on a world scale.

In the third place, something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments, by international agreement. No one power could or should act by itself; for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a power which really does believe in peace should place itself at the mercy of some rival which may at bottom have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But, granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments. An agreement merely to limit the size of ships would have been very useful a few years ago, and would still be of use; but the agreement should go much further.

Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. The supreme difficulty in connection with developing the peace work of The Hague arises from the lack of any executive power, of any police power to enforce the decrees of the court. In any community of any size the authority of the courts rests upon actual or potential force; on the existence of a

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police, or on the knowledge that the able-bodied men of the country are both ready and willing to see that the decrees of judicial and legislative bodies are put into effect. In new and wild communities where there is violence, an honest man must protect himself; and until other means of securing his safety are devised, it is both foolish and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power, competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought themselves of committing aggressions. The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

THE WATER POWER MAN AND THE LAW

BY STEWART EDWARD WHITE

MANY articles have been written treating of the grabbing water power man; discussing his arguments why he should be allowed to get about all there is for nothing. The conclusions generally reached cannot be too often or too emphatically repeated—namely, that a water power monopoly of the Standard Oil sort would affect the cost and condition of living for the whole people; such a monopoly is certain unless some definite legislation is enacted controlling the acquisition of water power sites; the neglect of such legislation is as bad as vicious legislation, because, failing good laws, the water power sites can be taken under the old bad laws. Nor is it to be doubted in general that the seekers of monopoly have mighty small National virtue, and intend to get all they can.

But, having conceded this, and having uttered once more the warning against the predatory interests, it would be not unprofitable to examine the views of the enlightened water power men as to proper legislation, and see how closely they approximate to our own. We must not discourage the hydro-electric companies that are disposed to be decent,[1] for on them, rather than on public ownership, must the development of our resources depend. In so far as the water power man is willing to be reasonable, by so much is he a conservationist, for every drop of water that runs unutilized down hill means that much more of coal or oil or wood used to develop its equivalent in power.

Three points the conservationists seem agreed are necessary in a good law dealing with water power sites:

1. Easements should be for a limited time, say fifty years, instead of forever. At the end of that time they should be renewable on a new basis to be determined by the new conditions.

2. The companies should pay back to the public a reasonable annual conservation charge per horse-power.

3. The companies should be required to develop the water power within a rea-

[1] Such as the Pacific Light and Power Company and the Southern California Edison Company. Both of these corporations, through their heads, have expressed themselves as in favor of the three points of the law I describe, though contending, of course, that in their exact interpretation they require careful discussion in order to be fair to all.

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sonable specified time. This is to avoid the danger of speculative holdings.

The water power men who are fighting enlightened sentiment in Congress deny the justice of any one of these three points. They are, however, essential to a good law, in one form or another. Many other more progressive water power men, however, are willing to agree to these three provisions, but contend that in their exact interpretation they require discussion in order to be fair to both sides. Their point of view is interesting, and will well repay examination.

Point one they are willing to concede *in toto*.

Point two they concede, but desire elucidation on the phrases "to the public" and "a reasonable charge."

Some of these people honestly feel that the water power sites should be in charge of the States, for the simple reason that they think the revenue obtained by water power should be spent where it is earned. In other words, we of California should not pay a tax that may be spent in North Carolina. There is considerable plausibility in this view; and it has been very skillfully taken advantage of by those who think a State government is a cinch to manipulate—as it generally is. The answer is, of course, that the State gets its return from its water power through taxation of property brought into being by water power development; and that the conservation tax is only payment to the public at large for taking care of that water power in its National Forests. There exists, in short, no more reason why a State should be subsidized than an individual. We ought to pay for what we get, wherever we get it. The test of the water power man's sincerity in this contention is as to whether or not he is willing to say: "Very well. I'm perfectly willing to pay this charge, and will do so. I have my private opinion as to where the money should go; but that is only my private opinion and has nothing to do with the mere fact of payment." If he will say that—and act on it—he is sincere; otherwise he is to be suspected of designs on our pure and innocent State legislatures. Some of them do say it.

Your water power man also wants the term "reasonable conservation charge" more closely defined. He maintains that the charge at present levied is unreasonable, and can quote you figures by the yard to help his contention. We have a few comparative figures ourselves, and cannot just see how an *average* annual tax of 65 cents, beginning at 10 cents per horse-power for the first year, and increasing to a maximum of 32½ cents per horse-power from the forty-sixth to the fiftieth year, is going fatally to injure a half-million-dollar-a-year business. Evidently, as far as opinion goes, there exists a deadlock. But the water power man, if he is sincerely honest, will agree to this: that the conservation charge shall be fixed, as at present, by the Bureau of Forestry, and that its reasonableness may be subject to review by the courts, where the company is privileged to prove its unreasonableness—if it can. Some of them agree to this.

The third point, that as to development within a reasonable time, is necessarily so roughly cast as to be susceptible to much discussion. What constitutes a reasonable time? What defines development?

There can be little question that a *well-regulated* local monopoly of such matters as hydro-electric power and light is better than the more clumsy expedient of competition. The building of two complete systems of reservoirs, dams, power-houses, and conduits where one would suffice is a foolish economic waste. Sooner or later one of two things happens: either one of the rival companies goes to smash and is absorbed by the other, or the consumer pays the added cost of maintaining two. In the absence of real regulation it is perhaps better that he pay that added cost as an insurance against unrestrained monopoly; but with adequate regulation it is imbecile. The problem is to see to it that the monopoly does not so extend in power as to menace the purity of that regulation.

Suppose, for example, that the city of Podunk is naturally and can be adequately served by the water power developed in one or more given watersheds, and that said watersheds serve *only* the city of Podunk. It is best for Podunk to put the matter into the hands of one responsible company, *and see that it remains responsible*. The regulation of light and power

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rates in Podunk should not be left to the company. Nor should it be left to the city council; for from the public point of view the company is too near and dear to that august body. Conceivably the State could take care of it, but only provided the Podunk Basin Light and Power Company did not combine with the light and power companies of all the other basins serving all the other cities. Then the combine could probably handle the astute statesmen at the State Capitol. And if enough of the State combinations got together in a good big National water power trust, why, then the very size and wealth and power of it might induce us to offer up prayers for the integrity of our National regulation.

That danger may be more or less remote, according to your training and point of view, but it is unnecessary. The obvious thing to do is to allow the local natural monopoly, but to prohibit any and all combinations of such affiliated interests. The water power men try to defend such combinations on the score of economy in financing, and claim that said economy would reduce the cost to the consumer. I doubt the latter point. As to the former, I believe that the consumer should be willing to pay a trifle more to insure himself against the possible danger of a too powerful trust.

Concede our natural monopoly for the individual locality, then; the matter of its regulation we will discuss shortly. The water power men maintain, and quite justly, that in fairness they ought to be protected against the blackmailing tactics of the man who takes up water power and makes a bluff at developing it merely in order to hold up the company. If, says the company, we can take up only the water we can develop within a few years, what becomes of the rest of the possible water power in our basin? What is to prevent the aforesaid blackmailer from getting busy? Should we not be allowed to take up *all* the water power, and be allowed to develop it as fast as, and no faster than, it is required? The counter-query to that, on the part of the citizen, is, of course, How do we know that you will actually develop it as fast as it is required? How do we know that you would not rather make a showing by which you could hold your smaller developments at a higher price? In short, how do we know that our community will get the fullest benefits from its water power through you as the agent? Is it not better to hold you down to what you can use? The water power men invariably answer by saying in effect: "Let us leave that to competent regulation."

So that at the end we find ourselves fairly reduced to makeshifts because we cannot decide on regulation that we dare trust. The power of the trusts has increased so flagrantly that we doubt the integrity, or at least the disinterestedness, of our own government. We are very, very strongly disinclined to concede anything that would concentrate power.

In that feeling we are quite right. We would rather forego certain benefits in order to be assured against certain evils. Even though one kind of monopoly is best, we would rather fight tooth and nail against *all* monopolies than run the risk of the dangerous sort. Although we might admit that piracy or wasteful competition is a bungling method of regulating public utility charges, we would rather pay too much than have no regulation at all. We are inclined to shy violently at the word "corporation," although many corporations are well disposed. The latter class of corporation men feel the essential unfairness of this attitude; so they, in turn, distrust or despise the public. Thus the breach widens.

Where should this "competent regulation" be? Not in the immediate locality, that is sure; nor in the State. Even should we admit an unprecedented integrity in all State legislatures to come, how can we be sure that, were we to pass over our National water sites to the States, they would all enact the proper regulating legislation? We cannot bargain on that. Evidently the control must be Federal.

Of course there is the Constitution, and States' Rights, and a dozen other things. It is a matter for lawyers—of whom some people think we have a superabundance in the present Administration. The machinery of establishment should come through the Federal ownership of the sites on which water power could be developed. By issuing a fifty-year ease-

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ment, but revocable on proof of misconduct, the matter might be arranged. Thus we should have a law embodying these provisions:

1. Easements for water power to run fifty years, but revocable on proof of failure to comply with the other provisions of the law or with the regulations, whichever you please to call them.

2. A reasonable horse-power charge, to be determined by the Bureau of Forestry, but subject to court review.

3. Water power sites in what we can roughly describe as the Basins of Natural Monopoly to be subject to entry by one company;[1] said company being assured unhampered control during good behavior and the life of its franchise; good behavior, among other things, to consist of charges for power and light in accordance with the recommendations of the proposed Federal Commission, the extension of service and development as deemed advisable by said Commission, and the refraining from any affiliation or combination with other companies of like nature.

This would be fair both to us and to the companies.

THE FARM SUNDAY

BY ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE

I HAVE never been able to discover why it is that things always happen Sunday morning. We mean to get to church. We speak of it almost every Sunday, unless there is a steady downpour that puts it quite out of the question. But, somehow, between nine and ten o'clock on a Sunday morning seems to be the farm's busiest time. If there are new broods of chickens, they appear then; if there is a young calf coming, it is his birthday; if the gray cat—an uninvited resident of the barn—must go forth on marauding expeditions, he chooses this day for his evil work, and the air is rent with shrieks of robins, or of catbirds, or of phœbes, and there is a wrecked nest, and scattered young ones, half-fledged, that have to be gathered into a basket and hung up in the tree again by our united efforts. And always there is the same conversation:

"Well, what about church?"

"Church! It's half-past ten now."

"We can't do it. Too bad!"

"Now, if it hadn't been for that cat!"—or that hen—or that calf! There are many Sunday morning stories that might be told, but one must be told.

It was a hot, still Sunday in July. The hens sought the shade early, and stood about with their beaks half open and a distant look in their eyes, as if they saw you but chose to look just beyond you. It always irritates me to see the hens do that. It makes me feel hotter.

Such a day it was. But things on the farm seemed propitious, and we said at breakfast that we would go.

"I've just got to take that two-year-old Devon down to the lower pasture," said Jonathan, "and then I'll harness. We ought to start early, because it's too hot to drive Kit fast."

"Do you think you'd better take the cow down this morning?" I said, doubtfully. "Couldn't you wait until we come back?"

"No, that upper pasture is getting burnt out, and she ought to get into some good grass this morning. I meant to take her down last night."

"Well, do hurry." I still felt dubious.

"Oh, it's only five minutes' walk down the road," said Jonathan, easily. "I'm all ready for church, except for these shoes. I'll have the carriage at the door before you're dressed."

I said no more, but went upstairs, while Jonathan started for the barnyard. A few minutes later I heard from that direction the sounds of exhortation such as are usually employed towards "crit-

[1] Of course if two companies are already in bona-fide possession of rights, that is a matter for them to settle.

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ters.". They seemed to be coming nearer. I glanced out of a front window, and saw Jonathan and his cow coming up the road past the house.

"Where are you taking her?" I called. "I thought you meant to go the other way."

"So I did," he shouted, in some irritation. "But she swung up to the right as she went out the gate, and I couldn't head her off in time. Oh, there's Bill Russell. Head her round, will you, Bill? There, now we're all right."

"I'll be back in ten minutes," he called up at my window as he repassed. I watched them go back up the road. At the big farm gate the cow made a break for the barnyard again, but the two men managed to turn her. Just beyond, at the fork in the road, I saw Bill turn down towards the cider-mill, while Jonathan kept on with his convoy over the hill. I glanced at the clock. It was not yet nine. There was plenty of time, of course.

At half-past nine I went downstairs again, and wandered out toward the big gate. It seemed to me time for Jonathan to be back. In the Sunday hush I thought I heard sounds of distant "hiing." They grew louder; yes, surely, there was the cow, just appearing over the hill and trotting briskly along the road towards home. And there was Jonathan, also trotting briskly. He looked red and warm. I stepped out into the road to keep the cow from going past, but there was no need. She swung cheerfully in at the big gate, and fell to cropping the long grass just inside the fence.

Jonathan slowed down beside me, and, pulling out his handkerchief, began flapping the dust off his trousers while he explained:

"You see, I got her down there all right, but I had to let down the bars, and while I was doing that she went along the road a bit, and when she saw me coming she just kicked up her heels and galloped."

"How did you stop her?" I asked.

"I didn't. The Maxwells were coming along with their team, and they headed her back for me. Then they went on. Only by that time, you see, she was a bit excited, and when we came along back to those bars she shot right past them, and never stopped till she got here."

I looked at her grazing quietly inside the fence. "She doesn't look as though she had done so much;" and then, as I glanced at Jonathan, I could not forbear saying, "but you do."

"I suppose I do." He gave his trousers a last flick, and, putting up his handkerchief, shifted his stick to his right hand.

"Well, put her back in the inner yard," I said, "and this afternoon I'll help you."

"Put her back!" said Jonathan. "Not much! You don't think I'd let a cow beat me that way!"

"But, Jonathan, it's half-past nine!"

"What of it? I'll just work her slowly—she's quiet now, you see, and the bars are open. There won't be any trouble."

"Oh, I wish you wouldn't," I said. But, seeing he was firm, "Well, if you *will* go, I'll harness."

Jonathan looked at me ruefully. "That's too bad—you're all dressed." He wavered, but I would take no concessions based on feminine equipment. "Oh, that doesn't matter. I'll get my big apron. First you start her out, and I'll keep her from going towards the house or down to the mill."

Jonathan sidled cautiously through the gate and around the grazing cow. Then, with a gentle and ingratiating "Hi there, Bossie!" he managed to turn her, still grazing, toward the road. While the grass held out she drifted along easily enough, but when she reached the dirt of the roadway she raised her head, flicked her tail, and gave a little hop with her hind quarters that seemed to me indicative of an unquiet spirit. But I stood firm and Jonathan was gently urgent, and we managed to start her on the right road once more. She was not, however, going as slowly as Jonathan had planned, and it was with some misgivings that I donned my apron and went in to harness Kit. I led her around to the carriage-house and put her into the buggy, and still he had not returned. I got out the lap-robe, shook it, and folded it neatly on the back of the seat. No Jonathan! There was nothing more for me to do, so I took off my apron and climbed into the carriage to wait. The carriage-house was

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as cool a place as one could have found. Both its big sliding doors were pushed back, one opening out toward the front gate, the other, opposite, opening into the inner barnyard. I sat and looked out over the rolling sunny country and felt the breeze, warm, but fresh and sweet, and listened to the barn-swallows in the barnyard behind me, and wondered, as I have wondered a thousand times, why in New England the outbuildings always have so much better views than the house.

Ten o'clock! Where *was* Jonathan? The Morehouses drove past, then the Elkinses; they went to the Baptist. Ten minutes past! There went the O'Neils—they belonged to our church—and the Scrantons, and Billy Howard and his sister, driving fast as usual; they were always late. Quarter past ten! Well, we might as well give up church. I thought of unharnessing, but I was very comfortable where I was, and Kit seemed contented as she stood looking out of the door. Hark! What was that? It sounded like the beat of hoofs in the lane—the cattle wouldn't come up at this hour! I stood up to see past the inner barnyard and off down the lane. "What on earth!" I said to myself. For—yes—surely—that was the two-year-old Devon coming leisurely up the lane towards the yard. In a few moments Jonathan's head appeared, then his shoulders, then his entire dusty, discouraged self. Yes, somehow or other they must have made the round trip. As this dawned upon me, I smiled, then I laughed, then I sat down and laughed again till I was weak and tearful. It was cruel, and by the time Jonathan had reached the carriage-house and sunk down on its threshold I had recovered enough to be sorry for him. But I was unfortunate in my first remark. "Why, Jonathan," I gasped, "what *have* you been doing with that cow?"

Jonathan mopped his forehead. "Having iced tea under the trees. Couldn't you see that to look at me?" he replied, almost savagely.

"You poor thing! I'll make you some when we go in. But do tell me, how did you *ever* get around here again from the back of the farm that way?"

"Easy enough," said Jonathan. "I drove her along to the pasture in great shape, only we were going a little fast. She tried to dodge the bars, but I turned her in through them all right. But some idiot had left the bars down at the other end of the pasture—between that and the back lots, you know—and that blamed cow went for that opening, just as straight—"

I began to shake again. "Oh, that brought you out by the huckleberry knoll, and the ledges! Why, she could go anywhere!"

"She could, and she did," said Jonathan, grimly. He leaned back against the door-post, immersed in bitter reminiscence. "She—certainly—did. I chased her up the ledges and through the sumachs and down through the birches and across the swamp. Oh, we did the farm, the whole blamed farm. What time is it?"

"Half-past ten," I said, gently, and added, "What are you going to do with her now?"

His jaw set in a fashion I knew.

"I'm going to put her in that lower pasture."

I saw it was useless to protest. Church was a vanished dream, but I began to fear that Sunday dinner was also doomed. "Do you want me to help?" I asked.

"Oh, no," said Jonathan. "I'll put her in the barn till I can get a rope, and then I'll lead her."

However, I did help get her into the barn. Then while he went for his rope I unharnessed. When he came back, he had changed into a flannel shirt and working trousers. He entered the barn and in a few moments emerged, pulling hard on the rope. Nothing happened.

"Go around the other way," he called, "and take a stick, and poke that cow till she starts."

I went in at the back door, slid between the stanchions into the cow stall, and gingerly poked at the animal's hind quarters and said, "Hi!" until at last, with a hunching of hips and tossing of head, she bounded out into the sunny barnyard.

"She'll be all right now," said Jonathan. I watched them doubtfully, but they got through the bars and as far as the road without incident. At the road she suddenly balked. She twisted her horns and set her front legs. I hurried

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down from my post of observation in the carriage-house door, and said "Hi!" again.

"That's no good," panted Jonathan; "get your stick again. Now, when I pull, you hit her behind, and she'll come. I guess she hasn't been taught to lead yet."

"If she has, she has apparently forgotten," I replied. "Now, then, you pull!" The creature moved on grudgingly, with curious and unlovely sidewise lunges and much brandishing of horns, where the rope was tied.

"Hit her again, now!" said Jonathan. "Oh, *hit* her! Hit her harder! She doesn't feel that. *Hit* her! There! Now, she's coming."

Truly, she did come. But I am ashamed to think how I used that stick. As we progressed up the road, over the hill, and down to the lower pasture, there kept repeating themselves over and over in my head the lines:

"The sergeant pushed and the corporal pulled,
And the three they wagged along."

But I did not quote these to Jonathan until afterwards. There was something else, too, that I did not quote until afterwards. This was the remark of a sailor uncle of mine: "A man never tackled a job yet that he didn't have to have a woman to hold on to the slack."

So much for Sunday business. But it should not for a moment be supposed that Sunday is full of these incidents. It is only for a little while in the morning. After the church hour, about eleven o'clock or earlier, the farm settles down. The "critters" are all attended to, the chicks are stowed, the cat has disappeared, the hens have finished all their important business and are lying on their sides in their favorite dirt-holes enjoying their dust-baths, so still, yet so disheveled, that I used to think they were dead, and poke them to see—with what cacklings and flutterings resulting may be imagined. I have often wished for the hen's ability to express indignation.

Yes, the farm is at peace, and as we sit under the big maples it seems to be reproaching us—"See how quiet everything is! And you couldn't even manage church!"

Other people seem to manage it very comfortably and quite regularly. On Sunday morning our quiet little road, unfrequented even by the ubiquitous automobile, is gay with church-goers. "Gay" may seem the wrong word, but it is quite the right one. In the city church-going is rather a sober affair. People either walk or take cars. They wear a certain sort of clothes, known as "church clothes," which represent a sort of hedging compromise between their morning and their afternoon wear. They approach the church in decorous silence; as they emerge they exchange subdued greetings, walk a block or two in little companies, then scatter to their homes and their Sunday dinners.

But in the country everybody but the village people drives, and the roads are full of teams—buggies, surreys, phaetons—the carriages newly washed, the horses freshly groomed, the occupants scrupulously dressed in the prettiest things they own—their "Sunday-go-to-meeting" ones, which means something quite different from "church clothes." As one nears the village there is some friendly rivalry between horses, there is the pleasure of "catching up" with neighbors' teams, or of being caught up with, and at the church door there is the business of alighting and hitching the horses, and then, if it is early, waiting about outside for the "last bell" before going in.

Even in the church itself there is more freedom and variety than in our city tabernacles. In these there are always the same memorial windows to look at—except perhaps once in ten years when somebody dies and a new one goes in—but in the country stained glass is more rare. In many it has not even gained place at all, and the panes of clear glass let in a glory of blueness and whiteness and greenness to rejoice the heart of the worshiper. In others, more ambitious, alas! there is ground glass with tinted borders; but this is not very disturbing, especially when the sashes are set open aslant, and the ivy and Virginia creeper cluster just outside, in bright greens and dark, or cast their shifting shadows on the glass, a dainty tracery of gray on silver.

And at the altar there are flowers—not florist flowers, contracted for by the year,

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but neighborhood flowers. There are Mrs. Cummings's peonies—she always has such beauties; and Mrs. Hiram Brown's roses—nobody else has any of just that shade of yellow; and Mary Lord's foxgloves and larkspur—what a wonder of yellow and white and blue! Each in its season, the flowers are full of personal significance. The choir, too, is made up of our friends. There is Hiram Brown, and Jennie Sewall, and young Mrs. Harris, back for three weeks to visit her mother, and little Sally Winter, a shy new recruit, very pink over her promotion. The singing is perhaps not as finished as that of a paid quartet, but it is full of life and sweetness, and it makes a direct human appeal that the other often misses.

After the service people go out slowly, waiting for this friend and that, and in the vestibule and on the steps and in the churchyard they gather in groups. The men saunter off to the sheds to get the horses, and the women chat while they wait. Then the teams come up, as many as the roadway will hold, and there is the bustle of departure, the taking of seats, the harsh grinding of wheels against the wagon-body as the driver "cramps" to turn round, then good-bys, and one after another the teams start off, out into the open country for another week of quiet, busy farm life.

Yes, church is distinctively a social affair, and very delightful, and when our cows and hens and calves and other "critters" do not prevent, we are glad to have our part in it all. When they do, we yet feel that we have a share in it simply through seeing "the folks" go by. It is a distinct pleasure to see our neighbors trundling along towards the village. And then, if luck has been against us, and we cannot join them, it is a pleasure to lie in the grass and listen to the quiet. After the last church-goers have passed, the road is deserted for two hours, until they begin to return. The neighboring farms are quiet, the "folks" are away, or, if some of the men are at home, they are sitting on their doorsteps smoking.

If there is no wind, or if it is in the right quarter, we can hear the church bells, faintly now, and now very clear; there is the First Church bell, and the Baptist, there is St. John's, on a higher note, and Trinity, a little lower. After a time even the bells cease, and there is no sound but the wind in the big maples and the bees as they drone among the flower-heads.

Sunday, at least Sunday on a Connecticut farm, has a distinct quality of its own. I can hardly say what it means to me—no one, I suppose, could say all that it means. To call it a day of rest does not individualize it enough. It has to be described not so much in terms of rest as of balance and height. I think of the week as a long, sweeping curve, like the curve of a swift, deep wave at sea, and Sunday is the crest, the moment of poise, before one is drawn down into the next great concave, then up again, to pause and look off, and it is Sunday once more.

The weather does not matter. If it rains, you get one kind of pause and outlook—the intimate indoor kind. If the sun shines, you get another kind—wide and bright. And what you do does not matter so long as it is different from the week, and so long as it expresses and develops that peculiar Sunday quality of balance and height. I can imagine nothing drearier than seven days all alike, and seven more, and seven more! Sundays are the big beads on the chain. They need not be all of the same color, but there must be the big beads to satisfy the eye and the finger-tips.

And a New England Sunday always is different. Whatever changes may have come or may be coming elsewhere, in New England Sunday has its own atmosphere. Over the fields and woods and rocks there is a sense of poise between reminiscence and expectancy. The stir of the morning church-going brightens but does not mar this. It adds the human note—rather not a note, but a quiet chord of many tones. And after it comes a hush. The early afternoon of a New England Sunday is the most absolutely quiet thing imaginable. It is the precise middle of the wave-crest, the moment when motion ceases.

From that point time begins to stir again. Life resumes. There is a certain amount of desultory intercourse between farm and farm. If people are engaged, or mean to be, they drive out together; if they are married, they go home to "his

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folks" or "her folks." Friends walk together, farmers saunter along the road or back on the farms to "take a look" at things. Consciously or not, and usually not, there is a kind of synthesis taking place, a gathering together of the scattered threads of many interests, a vague sense of the wholeness of life.

At five o'clock the cows turn towards home, and graze their leisurely way along the barnyard lanes. And with the cows come duties—chore time—then the simple cold supper, then the short, quiet evening, and off we swing into the night that sweeps us away from the crest down into the long, blind hollow of the week.

THE FARMERS' SIDE

BY ONE OF THEM

IF you please, we do not want to be thought about and cared for. We are unwilling, even when the thoughts are kindly and intended for the promotion of our welfare. For we must work out our own salvation or we must become peasants or serfs. One class can never raise another. If farmers are to become better and more efficient, we must do it ourselves.

Only please do not hinder us. We have been hindered a good deal first and last, and usually by our friends.

The first friend to hinder us has been the school-teacher. When she found a smart, attractive boy or girl, she said to the child and to the parents: "This child ought to have advantages. He ought to have a college (or at least a business) education. The farm is no field for talents like his." She felt that she was a friend to the farming people in thus opening up for some of them broader fields for their talents. We felt her friendliness. We felt that she ought to know more than we, since she had come to teach us. We encouraged the boys and girls to go.

We wish we hadn't.

Another friend along the same line is the Federation of Women's Clubs. This body educates a young woman at a college, and then has her go into some back town as a teacher, but with the real purpose of elevating rural life. She gives us to understand that all our social doings are wrong entirely. We ought not to run into a neighbor's for an hour of chat, dressed in a clean cotton dress and white apron, with our work in one hand. We ought to dress in our best, take our visiting-cards, and not stay over fifteen minutes. We ought not to have "bees" for husking, etc. We ought to have bridge whist. We ought to have a public library, located somewhere where no one could get to it oftener than once a month, and then the fines on overdue books would support it, you see. She goes to the annual meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and tells how benighted we were before she came to us. Why, we had only one dictionary in the neighborhood! We might have had more, but we thought we got more out of our money by using it to subscribe for The Outlook or something of that kind. And we are not sure that we are as happy or as social as we were before she came.

A third friend is the funny man of the newspaper. We know we are dear to his heart. His Farmer Hayseed jokes are all so innocent and "just for fun." Nobody could resent them.

Yet somehow we do not feel quite as self-respecting after reading them so constantly. And our children, choosing their vocations, in just that impressionable period when being laughed at is the one unendurable thing, are influenced against farm life by these same jokes.

Another friend is the public improvements man. He wants our township to have this and that—delightful things all of them, and what we would be glad to have. But we know that these improvements mean taxes. And they mean taxes that farmers must pay. Tax the wage-earner's or the business man's income—and

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next year he is not there to tax; he has moved away. But farms stay, and you can collect taxes there every time. It is a pretty good farm run by a pretty good farmer that brings in twenty dollars per week of income without cutting off the wood lot or selling off the hay. It is a farm good enough to pay at least a hundred dollars a year of tax. And the improvement schemes would run that up to a hundred and fifty. And that means old shoes on the boys, last year's hat on their mother, and a generally seedy appearance about the farm buildings.

The middleman is another friend. He buys our produce, sometimes he even comes to the farm after it. And how kind and friendly he is! He takes all the trouble of getting our goods to the highest market. He encourages us to leave all these matters to him, for, as he tells us, of course we cannot understand the markets, living away out here in the country as we do. He makes us feel the obligation we are under to him for taking our goods off our hands. Somehow the increase in prices of farm products seems to stay very largely with him instead of filtering through to us, as we hoped it would. And then, if prices fall, or quite often if they do not, he fails, and we can't collect even what he promised to pay us, while he builds him a stone-front house in the city and then sails for Europe.

What would we do for ourselves if we were really starting to work out our own salvation?

First, we would have a knowledge of farming made as much respected a part of rural education as manual training is of urban education. We would have, not the theoretic, expensive, impractical kind that comes from a professor of agricultural education for the masses, but the vital, usable kind, taught by a man and woman who can get a living from the particular farm where the education is given. That is, we would have farm boys and girls from twelve to sixteen years old required to spend forty half-days of their school year at home, *helping* father and mother. This is the amount of time given to manual training in the more progressive cities, is it not? This will give the youngsters knowledge of farm processes. It will give them education in the stress and delights of real work. It will give them the physical and moral vigor that results from overcoming real three-dimension hardships and difficulties. And, as a recognized part of education, to be talked over and compared later at school, it will give each of them a knowledge of the way the different farms and farm-houses in their section are run, and will induce a healthy emulation and a hungry appetite for success.

Besides this, it will give every farm father and mother at least twenty dollars' worth of extra labor. The family on the farm will be the richer by that sum the very first year the experiment is tried. This twenty dollars might do a good deal of good. It might provide better clothing, or more and better papers and magazines, which are the best public library for the farming community, and a longer term of school if the present school-year contains less than forty weeks. It will give the general feeling of self-respect and luxury that comes from having a little more to spend this year than you had last.

Second, we would have some way of obtaining a knowledge of prices, of markets, and of consumers' wants. We would know what we ought to receive for the crops we raise. If middlemen are necessary, they should be men whose reputations are worth more to them than what they could cheat out of workers and buyers. And it should kill a man, from a business standpoint, to be known to take unfair advantage of up-country farmers, just as effectually as it does now to be known to deal dishonorably with workmen or customers in the city. We would also have the freight and express companies treat us fairly, so that transportation would be a reasonable and reckonable factor in our marketing expenses. And we would have consumers pay either directly or indirectly their fair share of the taxes.

Third, we would have a free high school for the youth from sixteen to twenty which should run winters, when farm work is slack. It should begin after harvest and close just before planting time. The big boys and girls—I beg their pardon, the young men and maidens—of the farm would probably do some sparking, and that might not be such a bad

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thing either; but they would also get glimpses of education as a luxury. The youth who inclined to Latin, Greek, and higher mathematics should have them, in stiff, bulky quantities too, and should gain the cultured man's power to express his farmer thoughts and feelings in good, clear English. The scientific should have chemistry and physics—the chemistry and physics that lie nearest his door—and through these should be opened for him the great world of new achievements and discoveries in science. There should be geography and history, commercial, political, and industrial. I think we should use the United States Report of the Department of Agriculture for one of the text-books, and we should keep abreast of the work that is being done in the Experiment Stations. We would have these young people get from their fathers, or from some neighbors who would rent to them, small plots of land on which they should experiment for themselves in a small way in some new agricultural departure, each choosing the subject which specially appealed to him, and making as great a success of it as he could.

We would make the Grange a sort of continuation of this high school for those who have arrived at the dignity of farms of their own. Our lecturer should assign topics, agricultural and otherwise, for investigation, and we would investigate them and tell each other what we found out. We would get speakers like Dr. Charles Eliot and Dr. L. H. Bailey, and others of National reputation in their special subjects, to come and speak to us at our State and county Grange meetings, and they should talk, not to "hayseeds," but to men.

We would formulate a code of manners for farm society—a code which would probably express friendliness without calling-cards, and hospitality without hand-embroidered doilies, but which should be well-bred and simple and cordial, and too self-respecting to hang its head before any book of rules of etiquette prepared for other than farm environments.

And thus we would establish a farming community composed of men and women who have the ability to make two blades of grass grow where one grows now, and two pounds of butter come where one comes now, and whose hearts are in their work.

THE EFFECT OF INCREASED FREIGHT RATES

BY EDWARD W. HARDEN

THE railways of the United States are receiving practically the same money return for transportation services to-day that they received ten years ago. Freight and passenger revenues are practically the only commodity prices in which there has been no advance from the general level which prevailed a decade ago. As the purchasing power of the railway-earned dollar has fallen off materially during this period, the railways are, in fact, receiving a smaller compensation for their services than at the beginning of the period in question. There can be no question as to the fact of the higher cost of railway labor and supplies. The only question is as to the measure of the increase in the cost of those articles which the railway must purchase from the money received by it for the services it renders.

In a previous article it was pointed out that American railways are to-day paying on an average from 25 to 30 per cent more for a day's labor than they were at the resumption of the country's general industrial activity in 1897. This increase has come notwithstanding a gradual and considerable reduction by law and otherwise in the actual number of hours' service rendered in the average working day of railway employees. Fuel, track and building material, and supplies of all kinds

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have increased in price during the same years in widely varying ratios, ranging, for example, from 20 per cent in track spikes to 116 per cent in cross-ties.

An increase of 30 per cent in the cost of labor is not an exaggeration. In other words, it now costs the railways at least $1.30 to have performed the service which could have been obtained ten or twelve years ago for $1. A railway company to-day receives a dollar from a shipper or a traveler and buys for it what could have been bought ten years ago for approximately 77 cents.

Economists differ as to the reason for the increased cost of living. Whether it is due to the more luxurious way of living of the people in general or to the overproduction of gold, which has depreciated the purchasing value of the dollar, there can be no question as to the situation as it now exists. So far as purchasing power is concerned, the dollar has depreciated materially in the last ten or twelve years.

For some months railway managers have been seeking to obtain an increase in freight rates in order to meet the constantly increasing cost of what might be termed "the ingredients of transportation," consisting of labor and the material and supplies needed for the maintenance and operation of a railway. Every effort along this line has met with the most strenuous opposition from various commercial associations and bodies of business men throughout the United States. The opposition has been so strong that up to the present time rates have not been increased.

Among people generally there is the belief that an increase in freight rates would bring a further and a substantial increase in the cost of living. The average housewife who saw in the newspapers a report that there was to be an increase of 10 per cent in freight rates would probably figure that this would mean an increase in the cost of steak, of potatoes, of clothing, of fuel, and of the various necessaries and luxuries of life, the purchase of which now practically consumes the average income. Retail dealers are inclined to ascribe high prices to the operations of the trusts and to excessive freight rates. As to the first contention, this lies outside of the scope of this discussion, but as to excessive freight rates a little study of the situation and a careful analysis of the proportionate cost of transportation to the selling prices of the various articles in common use will show this assertion to be without foundation in fact.

One cent will cover a 10 per cent advance in the freight rate on 22 pounds of beef from Chicago to New York; on 33 pounds of sugar or coffee from New York to St. Louis; on 40 pounds of flour from Minneapolis to the Atlantic seaboard; on a man's outfit of coat, trousers, shoes, and hat from New England to the Mississippi Valley; on 18 yards of cloth from Boston to Chicago. If sirloin steak is sold by retailers at 25 cents a pound, and the freight rates should be increased 10 per cent, it would mean that the householder could buy a steak weighing three pounds each day for seven days and would contribute only one cent to this increase. The retailer would receive for this 22 pounds of beefsteak, at 25 cents a pound, $5.50, and he would pay to the transportation company only one cent additional because of the advance. This would surely be no adequate excuse for an advance in the retail price of meat by the New York butcher.

In order to get an idea of the comparative level of freight and passenger charges, we must start with the average rates obtained by all the railways of the country for transportation of freight per ton per mile, and of passengers per mile, for a number of years past. The figures are those of the Inter-State Commerce Commission:

Year to June 30.	Average Receipts per Ton Mile (Cents).	Average Receipts per Passenger Mile (Cents).
1897	.798	2.022
1898	.753	1.973
1899	.724	1.978
1900	.729	2.003
1901	.750	2.013
1902	.757	1.986
1903	.763	2.006
1904	.780	2.006
1905	.766	1.962
1906	.748	2.003
1907	.759	2.014
1908	.754	1.937

These averages are not an absolute index of variations in the level of rates. Obviously the average of any particular year's ton-mile rates would be and is

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affected by variations of the proportions borne by low-grade and high-grade freight to the whole bulk of traffic handled and in the distribution of the volume of business done among the various sections of the country. A slight increase in the proportion of high-grade freight carried the country over and the preponderating increase in the volume of travel and traffic in the more sparsely settled sections, coupled with an almost unvarying level of average rates per unit of service, prove an actual diminution in the compensation for services rendered under similar conditions and circumstances.

Since 1899 the Inter-State Commerce Commission has compiled a classification of tonnage for all the railways reporting to that body. The Commission's returns of freight traffic movement reveal the fact that in 1907, the latest year included, and in 1906 the proportion of high-grade freight to the whole was greater than in any other year since the aggregate records have been kept. The proportion of coal, the bulk of which moves at low rates, has increased somewhat, but the percentage of manufactures, which pay relatively high rates, has also decidedly increased. It is thus clear that the failure of the average ton-mile rate to rise appreciably between 1899 and 1907 was not due to changes in the character of commodities handled.

That there should have been a greater increase in railway traffic where rates are highest—that is, in the Southern, Western, and Southwestern States—during the past decade or two appeals to our common knowledge of the country's development as, on the face of things, reasonable and true. But we have the valuable testimony to the same effect of Professor Henry C. Adams, statistician to the Inter-State Commerce Commission, who expressed the opinion, in his digest of testimony given before the Committee on Inter-State Commerce of the United States Senate in 1904, that since 1899 "the proportionate increase in volume of traffic has been greater in the regions where normal rates are higher." Since this opinion was framed the average freight rate has declined from 7.80 mills to 7.59 mills in 1907 and 7.54 mills in 1908, but the development of the Western and Southwestern sections of the country has been even more pronounced than before.

The higher ratio of increase in high-grade freight and the geography of traffic development should have effected an advance in the general average ton-mile rate, except as counteracted by a prevailing downward tendency in the constant alteration and readjustment of tariffs. But we see that the general tendency of the average rate for a decade has been toward a lower basis. Under these circumstances the earnest and unanimous asseveration of railway managers that there has been an actual reduction in freight rates, measured flatly in money, must be received with no small degree of respect.

If it were true, as the spokesmen for several shippers' associations have contended, that increases in rates have been obtained on a wholesale scale by moving specific articles of freight upward in the recognized tariff classifications, the fact would reveal itself in a higher average ton-mile rate, unless offset by reductions in classification or rates on other articles. Speaking before the Albany Chamber of Commerce in January, 1909, after "ten months of the most thorough, painstaking investigation and analysis" of classification changes in the territory east of Chicago, W. C. Brown, President of the New York Central and allied lines, made this authoritative and responsible statement:

> To be exact, in the ten years from 1898 to 1908, rates have been advanced in this manner on 897 articles. But during the same period rates have been reduced by changes in classification on 876 articles, and the net result in money on the 1,773 articles on which changes in rates have been made was a reduction of 10.69 per cent.

Inter-State Commerce Commission returns for the year to June 30, 1908, give the ratio of operating expenses (cost of moving the traffic and maintaining the property) to gross earnings as 69.67 per cent. This compares with 67.53 per cent in 1907, and shows that the reduction in operating expenses which normally follows industrial panic, due to general financial and industrial liquidation to a lower price level, was not experienced until the following year, when the ratio was 66.12 per cent. And this in the face of the fact

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that the railways, under the pinch of a necessity more dire than is commonly realized, practiced a degree of retrenchment in maintenance expenditures that constituted a veritable economic danger.

But, considering all that we know of the increase in unit costs of labor and supplies, it is amazing that the proportion of operating expenses to gross earnings has advanced only from 67.06 per cent in 1897 to 69.67 per cent in 1907. As wages paid directly to railway employees constituted close to 40 per cent of gross expenses at the beginning of the period, and more than 43 per cent at the end, an advance of, say, 25 per cent in labor cost would alone have involved an increase in the proportion of total expenses to gross (operating ratio) of ten or eleven percentage points. An increase of 40 per cent in gross material bills would have caused a further increase in the operating expense ratio of seven or eight points, and the two, unchecked by other factors, would have practically wiped out net earnings. How, then, did the railways escape bankruptcy?

The answer is contained in the following remarkable exhibit of the enhanced efficiency of train movement. This is essentially the record of management. It represents, though inadequately, what capital and the skillful application thereof have contributed to the almost immeasurable improvement and development of our public transportation service during the past decade—an achievement in which labor has had little or no part:

Year to June 30	Tons Carried One Mile (Millions).	Freight Train Mileage (Millions).	Average Train Load (Tons).	Passengers Carried One Mile (Millions).	Passenger Train Mileage (Millions).	Passenger per Train Mile.
1897	95,139	464	204	12,256	335	37
1898	114,077	503	226	13,379	334	39
1899	123,667	507	243	14,591	347	41
1900	141,596	492	270	16,038	363	41
1901	147,077	491	281	17,353	385	42
1902	157,289	499	296	19,689	405	45
1903	173,221	526	310	20,915	425	46
1904	174,522	535	307	21,923	440	46
1905	186,463	546	322	23,800	459	48
1906	215,877	594	344	25,167	479	49
1907	236,601	629	357	27,718	509	51
Increase per cent.	148.7	35.5	75.0	126.1	51.9	37.8

This is what the men in charge of the railways have done, through the agency of capital and brain power applied to the reduction of grades, the elimination of curves, the purchase of larger and better cars, the provision of more powerful and economical locomotives, the promotion of balanced traffic movement—in short, the development of modern methods in transportation. It must be remembered, too, that no small part of the capital involved was supplied by the voluntary relinquishment by the owners of the railways of profits honestly earned, in order that the issuance of bonded debt and share capital might be avoided or minimized.

Without going into abstract economics, it is obvious that constantly rising commodity prices have practically deprived the railways of the direct pecuniary benefit that they might otherwise have enjoyed as the result of a generation of progress in the science of transportation, and have left them only the negative advantage that they have thereby been able to avoid insolvency. Leading economists are all but agreed that the world's increasing production of gold is the principal cause of the increasing cost of all living, of all industrial activity. However that may be, the railways alone of the country's various forms of invested capital have been caught between the rigidity of the price at which they are compelled to dispose of their service and the uncontrollable cost of producing it.

I take for granted the National necessity not only of keeping our railways solvent, but of permitting them a reasonable return on that portion of their capital which represents ownership and management and gives security to their bonds; also of allowing them some margin of surplus earnings for improvements of an unproductive or partly unproductive nature, of which the widespread elevation of tracks in cities is a striking example. The only solution of the problem under existing conditions is a moderate advance in freight rates. Higher passenger rates would, in many instances, be perfectly justified, but for quite familiar reasons the way out does not lie in that direction.

The question arises: How great a burden would an increase in freight rates, such as the railways desire, impose upon our internal commerce, and could the consumer, upon whom the burden must finally rest, support it without hardship? The advance generally spoken of by railway managers is 10 per cent, but for many

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reasons the advance would not apply to the entire freight bill of the country. Commodity rates, such as apply to the vast tonnage of the coarser and more bulky raw materials, are governed by rules of their own, and it is doubtful whether the most perfectly concerted action of all the railways of the country would avail to advance them universally and uniformly by as much as 10 per cent at one time. Railway managers, indeed, admit that a general and immediate advance in commodity rates is practically impossible.

How small a proportion of the individual's living expenses is assessed by the railways may be gathered from the following table of selling prices and typical Eastern freight rates on important commodities in common use. The figures in the last column show all the effect that a 10 per cent increase in freight rates could legitimately have upon the retail price per unit quantity:

	Selling Price.	Freight Rate.	Percentage Freight Rate to Price.	10 Per Cent Increase in Freight Rate.
Dressed beef, Chicago to New York, lb	30c.	4–100c.	1½	45–1000c.
Ham and bacon, " " "	22c.	3–10c.	1 36–100	3–100c.
Lard, " " "	17c.	3–10c.	1 8–10	3–100c.
Canned fish, Maine to St. Louis, "	18c.	18–100c.	1	18–1000c.
Eggs, Iowa to New York, doz.	52c.	1 5–10c.	2 88–100	15–100c.
Milk, N. Y. State to N. Y. City, qt.	10c.	8–10c.	8–10	8–100c.
Cream, " " "	60c.	1¼c.	1 9–10	125–1000c.
Sugar, New York to St. Louis, lb	5c.	3–10c.	6	3–100c.
Coffee, " " "	30c.	3–10c.	1	3–100c.
Tea, " " "	50c.	88–100c.	1 7–10	88–1000c.
Breakfast foods, Battle Creek to New York, lb.	12c.	18–100c.	1½	18–1000c.
Flour, Minneapolis to New York, 50 lb	$1.80	12½c.	6¾	1 1–44c.
Men's suits, Boston to New York, each	$15 to 40	9–10c.	3–100	9–100c.
" " Chicago "	15 to 40	4 1–5c.	14–100	42–100c.
" " St. Louis "	15 to 40	5c.	16–100	½c.
Women's, " New York "	20 to 100	1 1–5c.	2–100	12–100c.
" " Chicago "	20 to 100	5 6–10c.	11–100	56–100c.
" " St. Louis "	20 to 100	6 6–10c.	13–100	66–100c.
Gloves, Gloversville to New York, pair	75c. to $1	55–100c.	5–100	75–1000c.
Woolen cloth, Boston to New York, yard	$1 to 3	12–100c.	8–100	12–1000c.
" " Chicago "	1 to 3	56–100c.	37–100	56–1000c.
" " St. Louis "	1 to 3	66–100c.	44–100	1–15c.
Underwear, " New York, suit	2 to 3	15–100c.	6–100	15–1000c
" " Chicago, "	2 to 3	7–10c.	3–10	7–100c.
" " St. Louis, "	2 to 3	8–10c.	3–10	8–100c.
Shoes, Boston to New York, pair	3 to 5	5–10c.	12–100	1–20c.
" " Chicago "	3 to 5	1 4–10c.	35–100	14–100c.
" " St. Louis "	3 to 5	1 66–100c.	4–10	66–1000c.
Men's hats, Boston to New York, each	2 to 5	17–100c.	1–20	17–1000c.
" " Chicago "	2 to 5	35–100c.	1–10	35–1000c.
" " St. Louis "	2 to 5	41–100c.	12–100	1–25c.

When the advance in the classified freight rates comes, as it inevitably must unless some radical change in economic conditions that cannot now be even guessed at intervenes, there will be no lack of protest from manufacturers and jobbers, ostensibly on behalf of the oppressed "ultimate consumer." At that time it will be well to bear in mind these illustrations, which might be multiplied indefinitely. The point is, simply, that to grant the railways some increase in freight rates in partial compensation of the shrunken commodity value of their earnings would not mean oppression of the consumer, or even savor of it.

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THE NEW BOOKS

Mrs. Humphry Ward's new novel, "Lady Merton, Colonist," is a more agreeable story than its immediate predecessor, "Marriage à la Mode." It is, to be sure, as compared with the author's best-known and most carefully wrought novels, sketchy and slight, but it has several clearly drawn characters and is far more carefully written and less provocative of disagreement than the not altogether well-thought-out discussion through fiction of American divorce laws, which was the first fruit of Mrs. Ward's travels on this side the Atlantic. Here the scene and subject are Canada's great Northwest. Any one who has made the journey across the continent by the Canadian Pacific, or who means to do so, will find this story alive with interest, and that not of a merely descriptive kind. Mrs. Ward's impression of the vastness of the country, the rapidity of its growth, its opportunities, its wild beauty, the heroism of the patient pioneers—all seen through Lady Merton's sympathetic imagination—take a strong hold on the reader. Decidedly the book is worth reading, even if its appeal is quite different from that of such novels as "The Testing of Diana Mallory" or "The Marriage of William Ashe." (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50.)

In "According to Maria" Mrs. John Lane has made a clever, amusing, and lifelike sketch of an English woman-snob. Maria is impervious to ridicule, totally without a saving sense of humor, insistent and laborious in her attempts to climb the social ladder. Failures only inspire her to new efforts, and in the end her husband and daughter have to subdue her by open rebellion. Maria is an extreme case of a common type. Her doings and sayings constantly move to laughter, and the social moral of the book is sound. (John Lane Company, New York. $1.50.)

Octave Thanet's "By Inheritance," like all her books, has good character work and a cheerful and helpful spirit. The novel is largely a study of the race question in the South, and is interesting as a record of evidently first-hand observation of negro traits and white traditions. It does not attempt to solve the question, but it does show the need of subordinating theory to actual conditions. The plot has grim and horrid incidents, which form an unpleasing contrast with the general tone of the story. (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.50.)

A book like Mr. Robert Chambers's "The Green Mouse" is amusing or ridiculous according to the taste and mood of the reader. It is a little in the vein of his "Iole," but by no means as clever. It may be welcomed as a relief from purposeful fiction, a bit of irresponsible fun, fancy, and folly. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The reader who recalls Professor Münsterberg's interesting volume "On the Witness Stand" will get in that the key to "The Achievements of Luther Trant," by Edwin Balmer and William MacHarg. They are the detective achievements of a "practical psychologist" who uses the methods of modern psychology to detect crime. Some of the stories are not convincing—"The Chalchiteitl Stone," for example; but in the main they are at least no more improbable than most detective stories; and if the statement in the preface is true, that the methods which Trant uses are based on physico-psychological principles which are recognized as established by modern psychologists, the stories are interesting and dramatic illustrations of the discoveries which have been made in that science respecting the physical effects in the human body of emotions, even in men who possess the most perfect apparent self-control. (Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

Sir Harry Johnston has written a book of great interest about Africa. It is entitled "George Grenfell and the Congo." It is in two large volumes. The first is devoted largely to George Grenfell and his labors; the second, largely to the information about the Congo and its people which George Grenfell collected. As Sir Harry Johnston himself says, the popular mental picture of a missionary does not at all correspond to the actual missionary, and least of all to such a man as Grenfell. The missionary of the sort that he was is a man of the broadest knowledge, ability, and achievements. He surveys an unknown country, makes maps, studies languages and reduces them to writing, introduces industries, establishes government, banishes pain and sickness, studies the habits and customs of many peoples, studies animal and plant life, fights against the evils that civilization brings with it to a backward people as well as against the evils that are indigenous to the people themselves. The story of such a man is full of incident and activity, and the knowledge that such a man collects and records is of scientific and popular interest. Sir Harry Johnston himself knows this part of Africa, of course, at first hand. Out of the notes, journals, and memoranda left by George Grenfell, supplemented by his own personal knowledge, he has prepared a work of lasting value. It is worth while to note incidentally that the facts recorded, though they are told simply and without heat, and though they contradict certain popular notions unjust to the Belgian régime, do not allay one's indignation against the oppressive government of the Congo Independent State. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $7.50.)

Robley D. Evans, Rear-Admiral, is one of the best of story-tellers. The writer once witnessed an oratorical feat of an extraordinary character performed by him. Carnegie Hall was packed with an audience which filled it to

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the most distant seat in the uppermost gallery. Coming to the platform on crutches, in a few simple words explaining why he could not stand during his address, then discarding his crutches and taking his seat, he held the audience for an hour and a quarter or more, in a close and quiet attention which the great orators rarely win continuously for so long a time, while in an apparently conversational tone, which nevertheless made itself heard by three thousand people, he told the story of the ocean trip of the American fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. This he did without gesture and without any of the tricks or artifices of either the orator or the rhetorician. He did it by the quiet simplicity, the unmistakable sincerity, the genuine humanity of his spirit, and by the clearness and vividness of his pictures of life. The same inartificial art characterizes "An Admiral's Log." The style is singularly lucid—so lucid that you scarcely realize that there is any style. The pen-pictures are more than photographs, but not colored; let us say that they are etchings—few lines, but full of significance. The convictions on public questions are expressed with a frankness entirely free from the restraints of officialism. We do not always agree with them; but we always know what they are and for what reasons they are held. In short, Admiral Evans talks with his readers as he talked with that audience in Carnegie Hall, with the same vitality and the same freedom with which he would talk with guests at a dinner-table. We say advisedly talks *with* his audience, not *to* his audience, for a charm of the book is the curious sense which it gives to the reader of the personal presence of the writer. He is essentially a conversationist, though his conversation is monologue. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $2.)

Professor Metchnikoff's work on the "Prolongation of Life" has now appeared in a popular edition. On such a subject none deserves more attention than this eminent zoölogist, whose theory is supported by the results of experiment for some eight years on himself and his friends. A century is, in his view, the normal duration of human life, but life is shortened as the result of slow poisoning by microbes in the intestines. Against this a specific prophylactic is found in lactic acid, the familiar vehicle of which is buttermilk. Professor Metchnikoff's theory has obtained considerable recognition among physicians, and a variety of medical preparations possessing the virtue claimed for buttermilk are now recommended. What he offers is a method of nutrition which he believes will lessen the chance of old people being attacked by diseases to which they are specially liable. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.75.)

John Esquemeling was a story-telling buccaneer who was present with "our English Jamaican hero," Sir Henry Morgan, at the sack of Porto Bello and the burning of Panama. He wrote in Dutch a "real thriller" of a yarn about "American Buccaneers." It appeared in 1678, was translated into several languages, and in its English form has long been a storehouse of exciting incident whence fiction writers have drawn. In its present shape it is furnished with terrific woodcut portraits of these famous heroes—or pirates, whichever you like to call them—and pictures of some of their exploits against the Spaniards, which for sheer physical intrepidity have never been outdone. Here, for instance, is the account given by the writer of the Introduction of a *typical* method of starting business:

> A party, varying in number from twenty to fifty men, would meet to discuss ways and means to sign agreements, and to choose officers: this done, they would put to sea in canoes or small vessels, and cruise on the usual trade routes. If fortunate enough to discover a Spanish vessel, the pirates were not likely to be deterred from the attack by any disparity in force, however great, apparently trusting by superior seamanship and discipline to place themselves at least on an equality with the enemy. Their first approach was generally made with great judgment, their tiny craft being so steered as to avoid the direct fire of the heavy artillery, while their picked marksmen attempted to strike down the helmsman first, and next the men attending to the sails. This effected, they would get under the stern, or other part of the ship where the guns could not be sufficiently depressed to reach them, the crew of one of the boats would proceed to wedge up the rudder, while the others would keep up a fire of musketry directed at the portholes and bulwarks, so accurately aimed as to prevent any of the Spanish crew from showing themselves. When the guns had thus been silenced and the crew forced to seek shelter, the assailants would board from several quarters at once; the deck once reached, their personal dexterity in the use of their weapons and their activity and courage were so marked that they rarely failed to overpower their opponents.

For a combination of greed, courage, anti-Romanism (the English buccaneers held divine service every Sunday), and the kind of patriotism which was chiefly hatred of Spain, these buccaneers were truly marvelous. Old Esquemeling's narrative is fascinating, even if one fancies that there might be a word or two said on the other side. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $4.)

"Chinese Immigration," by Mary Roberts Coolidge, Ph.D., formerly Associate Professor of Sociology, Stanford University (Henry Holt & Co., New York, $1.75), and "Chinese and Japanese in America: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1909," are two volumes which will give any thoughtful reader a fairly comprehensive view of the Oriental immigration problem in the United States. The first volume is historical and scientific. The writer has resided in California, and is familiar with the public sentiment of the Pacific Coast, as well as with the aspects of the labor and immigration problems on that coast. But her courageous independence of local sentiment is sufficiently indicated by the title of one of her chapters, "The Coolie Fiction," and by the closing sentence of that chapter: "The persons who now assert that the Chinese came here as contract coolies,

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bound to a term of service, as slaves or peons, either have no personal knowledge of the subject of coolie immigration or are deliberately repeating a false tradition in order to cater to anti-Chinese feeling." Her volume gives a history of the treatment of the Chinese; her conclusion is that the evils of Chinese immigration have been greatly exaggerated, and that the Chinese should be allowed to become naturalized citizens of the United States, in which case they would become valuable citizens. This is not the opinion of all the writers who have contributed to make the second volume referred to above, a pamphlet of two hundred pages, which consists of papers contributed to the American Academy of Political and Social Science both in favor of and against Oriental exclusion, and of other papers on National and international aspects of the exclusion movement, and on the problem of Oriental immigration outside of America. The second volume supplements the first, and taken together they give a comprehensive and fairly complete discussion of the problem in all of its aspects and from various points of view.

"During the Reign of Terror," by Grace D. Elliott, is a journal of the experiences of a royalist in Paris during that awful episode. Her judgment of the active participants in this tragic drama are valueless. They are not judgments, they are prejudices. Her feminine morality was neither better nor worse than that of court society in that epoch. But, accepting the truthfulness of her narration of events, which is in general confirmed by the historical records of that time, she was a woman of great courage and great resource. She voluntarily went into the trap and braved the "terror" to rescue a friend who had neither courage nor resource. The story of her concealment of this not too brave gentleman behind her bed is as exciting as an incident in Dumas, and would have served the novelist well. Twice arrested, she escaped the guillotine rather by good luck than by good management. Danger seems to have had no terrors for her; perhaps to that fact she partly owed her escape. Her journal is an addition to the history of the French Revolution because it gives so dramatically the personal experience of one who suffered from it and barely escaped death from its grim tribunal. (The Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $1.)

Lowell's "Fireside Travels," published first in 1864, appear again in a little volume with an introduction by E. V. Lucas. All the essays in this volume are to be found in the first volume of the Riverside Edition of Lowell's works. Mr. Lucas's introductory essay, however, gives this compact and attractive little book special value. Mr. Lucas has the knack of making intimate companions of the authors he enjoys reading; and he has, too, the art of bringing others into his circle of friends on the same intimate terms with himself. Some of those who like to walk into the woods of a summer day and read a bit will be slipping this volume into the pocket some time these coming months. (Henry Frowde, London.)

How did religion begin? Some students have said that it originated in man's reverence for his ancestors; some that it originated in wonder at the forces of nature. So we have the ghost theory of religion and the animistic theory of religion. And both theories seem little better than very unsatisfactory guesses. To say that religion is a revelation is not to answer the question, for that is only an attempt to tell whence it originated, not how. Dr. Irving King, of the State University of Iowa, has written a book in which he reports the results of his study of this question. That it is a volume of great importance seems to us beyond question. Like the scientist that he is, Dr. King first states the problem, then collects and classifies the facts that throw light on it. The value of his work, however, is due to the insight he shows in discerning great principles of human thought in these facts of human life. To put the substance of such a volume into a brief notice is clearly impossible, but it is possible perhaps to indicate baldly the way Dr. King has undertaken his task. He holds that religious experience is capable of scientific investigation because such experience is different from other experience not in kind but only in the ends which it serves. Religious consciousness is not an instinct; it is rather the product of certain kinds of action. In other words, people did not originally worship because they believed certain things; they have formulated beliefs because first they worshiped. It is not religious belief that is instinctive, but religious action, because it is instinctive with men to act, to respond to some stimulus. When that instinct to act was not sufficient to preserve the race, then men began to supply the defect by conscious effort. So Dr. King first studies the environment and activities of primitive man, or at least of those tribes of men that most nearly approach the primitive. He tells of customs to be found among such peoples. He finds that the most primitive religion arises out of social customs. For example, it is natural for warriors about to enter a battle to rehearse in anticipation the act of fighting. They are stirred by imagining the conflict; they picture their own bravery and the rout of the enemy. Some of these anticipatory acts are outlets of pent-up emotions; some are efforts to emphasize the importance of future deeds; some are outcroppings of the play instinct. Now these customs are, in one way or another, means of expressing the primitive man's sense of the value of his experiences. As the world about him becomes greater and the significance of his life becomes wider, these customs become religions. As Dr. King puts it, "Under certain circumstances, customs become religions, or acquire religious values.

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It may be said that religious practices are social habits specialized in a certain direction." After a while the primitive man tries to explain these customs, and so formulates in a vague way a religious belief. Thus in almost all primitive peoples there prevails a belief in a mysterious pervasive power. In the Algonkin tongue this is termed *manitou;* among the Sioux, *wakonda.* It forms a bond between man and his world. This belief becomes religious. Dr. King, by the way, distinguishes magic and religion among primitive peoples by saying that magic is individualistic and secret, religion social and public. Tracing the growth of religion out of these primitive customs, he follows it as it involves conceptions of deity and reaches the ethical stage. In particular he devotes special attention to the monotheism of the Hebrews. In all this Dr. King makes it clear that he is not considering the worth or truth of religion, but simply its natural history. As he says in his final chapter, the value of religion lies not in the mode by which it is communicated but in relation to actual experience. The reader should keep in mind the fact that this is not an attempt to explain religion, much less to explain it away. It is a history of its processes as a human force. One might liken it to a history of music. A writer who shows how the art of music has developed from inchoate sound, through primitive song, mediæval plain-song, later polyphony and modern harmony, does not explain music; much less does he explain away the musical genius of Orlando di Lasso, Palestrina, Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, Brahms. A Beethoven symphony loses nothing of its musical qualities because we can trace its ancestry back to the crudest beginnings; so religious experience loses none of its validity because its prototype is primitive. Dr. King's "Development of Religion" is a book of first importance in the scientific study of religion. One hardly knows whether it should be classed under psychology, or anthropology, or sociology. The fact is, in spite of an unnecessary abundance of technical terms, it is very human. It is hard reading, but it amply repays study. It is a noteworthy contribution to the literature dealing with the evolution of religion. It is, indeed, more than that; it is a comprehensive and illuminating statement of what might be called the religious biography of the race. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.)

We Americans are by turns indulgently amused and frankly irritated by the ordinary Englishman's complacent ignorance concerning the United States. When, for instance, a supposedly well-informed Englishman, in writing of Columbia University, as one did the other day, adds, "wherever that may be," newspapers in the United States print paragraphs of frigid scorn and torrid rejoinder. At the same time we Americans are just as complacent in our ignorance of things Australian. We know little of its size, less of its resources, and least of its people. We have to a very large extent, it is true, heard of legislative experiments which have been tried in Australia, and have adopted very generally what is known as the Australian ballot. We are not, however, at all well acquainted with the character of the people for whose needs these experiments were made. "The Commonwealth of Australia," by B. R. Wise, deprives us of an excuse for our ignorance. It tells something of life in Australia, the spirit of the Australian people, their sports, their varying manners, their government, and their legislation. There is a great deal in the democracy of Australia, and a great deal in the social and political problems that that democracy has to meet, which ought to interest us Americans greatly and which might bring us some answers to the questions we are asking of ourselves. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $3.)

Nothing can take the place of Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians." Those, however, who want something of the sort that is much more compact will find Stokes's "Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians," edited by L. J. de Bekker, very serviceable. In such a book space cannot always be assigned in proportion to importance of subject-matter. It does seem rather odd, however, to find Converse's "Pipe of Desire," the first opera by a native American composer to be performed at the Metropolitan Opera-House, New York (as it was this season), occupying actually more space than is devoted to Brahms. This is partly due to the fact that a special feature of this book is rather full outlines of the plots of operas. (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $3.)

In these days, when every one seems to feel the constant pressure of some duty, some work, some engagement, it may be even for an hour's recreation, at each waking moment, there is danger not merely of nervous but also of moral exhaustion. Mere rest or change of occupation may renew nervous energy; but for the renewal of moral energy there is need of the tonic of moral ideas. Such tonic one can find in a little book called "The Fighting Saint," by James M. Stifler. To read one of its chapters is like taking a short, brisk walk in the open air. The author makes no effort after distinction of style or originality of ideas; he succeeds in reaching something even better—common sense. (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 75c.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

A CORRECTION

I am indebted to one of your readers for calling my attention to an error in my article "Can Labor be Capitalized?" in the April 2 number of The Outlook, which should be corrected. In figuring the net increase in dividends and in wages for the eight-year period prior to 1909 I overlooked the fact that, while the dividends were on a fixed par value, the increase and decrease in wages were on a fluctuating basis, so that the net increase in wages for that period should be only 8.24 per cent instead of 13.56 per cent.

The letters received reveal a widespread interest in this important question. The adoption of the principle suggested would largely remove the speculative elements from such investments. WILLIAM SHAW.

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE COST OF LIVING

I have read with particular interest the article by Mr. Herbert D. Miles, who is identified with the provision trade of Chicago, on "Animal Foods and the Cost of Living," in a recent number of The Outlook. Mr. Miles admits the co-operative organization of the packing and cold storage interests, but attributes the rise in prices of the products dealt in to the fact that these shrewd business men "*have during the past ten years been innocently engaged in steadily bidding up upon themselves the products entering into their freezers, the net result of which was wholly for the benefit of the farmer.*"

Now, if Mr. Miles will supplement this remarkable statement with the assurance that during this period of ten years it has not been the practice of the buyers for the packing and storage interests to agree among themselves concerning the market values to be observed by buyers at the purchasing stations and terminals, it will help out his reasoning. In any event, Mr. Miles's reasoning carries with it the unavoidable conclusion that between the packer and the farmer the consumer is squeezed. If the profit is excessive, and is the result of speculative combination, it matters little where it lodges, whether in the pockets of packers or farmers. The real milk in the cocoanut for the consumer is to discover a way whereby the combination, whatever it may be, innocent or otherwise, which produces such results may be dissolved.

C. E. FAULKNER.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

A VERDICT

I chanced to be reading your issue of April 9 yesterday afternoon, and, following your suggestion, I submitted "The Migration of Dan" to a jury consisting of my two sons aged eleven and twelve, with the unexpected result that they both pronounced in favor of the King James version. The verdict represented their own opinion, without suggestion on my part. After reading the two versions, I cannot say that their verdict surprised me. The quaint, archaic form of expression of the King James version appeals, I believe, to the child mind, and I think it would be unfortunate if the growing generation were to tire of this matchless style and to require its presentation in more modern form.

The trouble in the past has been in presenting the Bible to the child in an unreal way, in holding it before him as a sacred and inspired work, not to be read as other books. This has caused the boy or girl to have an abnormal attitude towards it, and is as responsible, if not more so, for the children's lack of appreciation of it as the quaintness of its expression. The child should be brought up to view it as any other work of literature or story-book. Where in literature can be found anything more likely to entrance the child mind than the story of Joseph? If this normal attitude could be cultivated, the child would then be more likely to appreciate and cherish the Bible's inimitable stories and its beautiful poetry. What matters it if he is not troubled about problems of its being inspired and if he places it in the category of his nursery fairy stories? With mature years will or should come the dawning of its spiritual meaning upon him, and his acquaintance with it as secular literature or as a good story-book would not detract from its spiritual reality to him.

SEEBER EDWARDS.

Providence, Rhode Island.

A GOOD STORY BUT UNAUTHENTIC

I have at least seventeen objections to the use made of my name by Mr. Frank Marshall White in his article about "Mr. Edison and the Electric Light." The first is that what he states about me is untrue; the second, that it could not be true; and the third is that, true or false, "it's of no consequence" to the public, as the late Mr. Toots might have said. The other fourteen objections I withhold in mercy to your readers. But I must add that all of them are based on the certainty that Mr. White's misinformation was an emanation from the atrabilarious brain of some disgruntled reporter or city editor of times of yore. I use that strange and formidable-looking adjective atrabilarious, because I want to overwhelm Mr. White's informant by the biggest and most horrid-looking word in the lexicon of wrath.

In December, 1879, no American newspaper, not even the New York "Daily Graphic" (sometime defunct), possessed the mechanical facilities for the preparation of such an abundantly illustrated article as that which appeared in the "Herald" about Edison's electric light in that year and month, within the hours indicated by Mr. White; that is to say, between the hour of the departure

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of the day editor—say five o'clock in the afternoon—and the hour of going to press. Photogravure had not yet advanced to that point.

Then, to clinch the matter, and to expose the nonsense palmed off on Mr. White as reliable and spicy reminiscence, I must add that, so far from the publication of the Edison article being a surprise to me, it had been prepared with the full knowledge of Mr. Bennett and myself, and had been duly ordered into print.

I shall certainly thank you for the publication of this correction, which it is probable you may not find an altogether unimportant contribution to the history of journalism. Much more shall I appreciate your courtesy if you allow me to add, by way of clearing up another much misunderstood fact, that there never was any other managing editor of the New York "Herald" than James Gordon Bennett, father, and James Gordon Bennett, son, during my long connection with that journal. How it may have been anterior to that time, before the Atlantic cable was laid, when the only means of communication between America and the rest of the world was by slow-going steamers, you can yourself surmise quite as well as I. But I am bound to say that during my time the electric cable was fairly loaded with instructions from—to use an expression then much in vogue—"the author of our salaries," and no mere *locum tenens* had much of a free hand.

THOMAS B. CONNERY.

New York City.

A PROGRESSIVE COUNTRY

I have read with much interest Mr. Paul Kennaday's article on "The Land Without Strikes" in The Outlook. I congratulate Mr. Kennaday on the manner in which he has presented his subject and on the evident care he has taken to give a correct statement of the case. It is in pleasing contrast to many of the articles which are published in this country relating to New Zealand and Australia, where so many important political experiments are being made—experiments which, as Mr. Kennaday suggests, are well worth watching by older countries. New Zealand is one of the most progressive countries in the world, and, as Mr. Kennaday remarks, America might learn some lessons from that young country with advantage.

In the same issue of The Outlook the vexed question of compensation to workmen injured in their employment is editorially discussed. This question is causing much serious thought in the United States to-day; in New Zealand it has been settled by the Workmen's Compensation Act, which provides for the payment of compensation by the employer to a workman injured in the performance of his duties. In many cases the amount of compensation is settled by mutual agreement; where this is not done it is settled by the court.

The life-story of New Zealand as a civilized settlement dates back barely seventy years, and no country in the world presents a more wonderful story of pioneering and of nation-building. From an almost unknown country of cannibal savages New Zealand has become a British Dominion of great wealth, studded with cities and towns and farms. It is peopled by a strong and virile race, who possess the highest average wealth per head of any people in the world; it is noted for its great natural resources, its gold mines, its pastoral industries, the meat and wool and other products which it exports in great quantities, and yet it has a white population of only a million souls, whereas there is room for fifteen or twenty millions. The aggregate production of the Dominion, including manufactured goods, is something like $210,000,000, of which amount about $115,000,000 represents the product of the soil in the shape of wool, frozen meat, butter and cheese, grain, etc. Very nearly half the total production is exported, the value of exports having risen to over $100,000,000. New Zealand's gold mines yield over $10,000,000 per annum, and since their discovery have produced gold to the value of $350,000,000. There are four large cities—Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin—whose population ranges from fifty thousand to nearly one hundred thousand, and there are hundreds of fine towns and villages. On the State railway system over $125,000,000 has been spent. There are nearly two thousand State schools for primary education, and there is a New Zealand University, with colleges in each large center. It is interesting to note in this connection that Miss Anna C. Hedges has just resigned her position as Principal of the Hebrew Technical School for Girls in New York in order to fill the chair of Household Economy which has been established by the University of New Zealand. Something like $3,750,000 is spent annually on the education of the children. The amount of private wealth per head of population is about $1,700; judged by the test of accumulated wealth, the New Zealanders are in a more prosperous condition than any other civilized people on the earth. The country's one great need is population. Australia labors under the same disadvantage.

W. FARMER WHYTE.

[Mr. Whyte is a well-known Australian journalist, and has made special and thorough study of economic and industrial conditions in New Zealand.—THE EDITORS.]

THE TAXATION OF PRIVILEGE

Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, in his criticism of my article published in The Outlook for February 5, appears to be not without one misapprehension of his own. He says that in New York City "taxation is already at a much higher rate than 20 per cent of the gross ground rent."

My statement was that Boston now takes

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in taxation about 20 per cent of its ground rent; not that Boston's total taxes amount to only 20 per cent of its ground rent. In fact, they amount to nearly 50 per cent. Greater New York now takes in taxation about 25 per cent of its ground rent. Its total taxes, like Boston's, amount to something less than 50 per cent of its gross ground rent. Following is a careful estimate of the ground rent of Greater New York:

The assessed valuation of land, including franchises as "land," is.....	$4,200,000,000
Five per cent of the above amount, or... is what remains of gross ground rent to the landowners after taking in taxation, as is already done, the sum of..	$210,000,000 70,000,000
Making the gross ground rent of Greater New York.....	$280,000,000
Of which $70,000,000, the present tax on land, amounts to about	25 %
And the total taxes ($123,000,000) amount to.....	44 %

The blasting and grading of Manhattan Island are improvement values, and as such would be exempt from taxation. But the cost of these improvements is so inconsiderable as compared with the nearly twenty-eight hundred million dollars site value of the land of Manhattan Island that they fade from view as part of that inevitable margin that must lie between the valuation set by the assessors and the actual land value. Still more is the above true of the filling and bulkheads of the North and East Rivers, as of all other "values created by industry and skill."

As to a system that should put all taxes upon "real estate," the one grave objection is its inequality. Under it the landlord of a new building would be paying the taxes of an adjoining landlord who might have old buildings or none at all. For illustration, take the case of three men who, as owners each of a $1,000 lot of land, have equally at command the benefits arising from the expenditure of their taxes (presupposing the tax rate to be $20 per thousand):

If Smith owns land with worthless buildings or none at all, he will pay, for each $1,000 of land, taxes upon.....	$1,000	$20
If Jones owns land and buildings in equal amount, he will pay, for each $1,000 of land, taxes upon.....	$2,000	$40
If Brown owns his own house, worth three times as much as his land, he will pay, for each $1,000 of land, taxes upon.....	$4,000	$80

As between the three men, Smith will be paying one-seventh, Jones two-sevenths, and Brown four-sevenths of the total tax of $140, instead of each paying one-third, or $46.67.

The lesson of Mr. Wheeler's illustration of a house and lot that have trebled in value, immediate or potential, in thirty years, but whose worth for use to the original occupant has not changed in that time, is that the lot, being worth three times as much, will yield three times the rental if suitably improved, and may no longer be an appropriate site for the home of the owner. A heavier tax on the site will hasten the time when the lot will be put to the best economic use. The expense of each estate to the city, being in proportion to the area of the land, rather than in proportion to the extent of the improvement, would not be increased by a new apartment-house or store. The greater the improvement, the better it is for the community. Public welfare does and must override any individual "sentiment" involved, else where would be the New York that is above Canal Street to-day?

Will Mr. Wheeler please pardon and ponder this tentative *obiter dictum:* While the single tax is harmful only to the business of land speculation, land speculation alone is harmful to every other business.

C. B. FILLEBROWN.

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE RANCHING QUESTION

One of the most curious characteristics of American (and, we might say, human) nature is the reluctance to face the consequences of our acts. Over twenty-five years ago Congress passed acts the avowed purpose of which was to make ranching difficult and compel the subdivision of public lands into small tracts. The fencing of large tracts of public land, by which the raising of great herds of cattle is made easy, was prohibited. These laws were not at first enforced strictly. Ranchmen procured various persons to buy separate sections from the Government. This was done for the benefit of the ranchmen, who took conveyances of the separate sections and threw them into one great ranch where cattle could be cheaply fed and cared for. The Government has determined to break up this practice, and some of the most enterprising owners of cattle are now sentenced to fine and imprisonment for doing this very thing. Many have been driven out of business. The natural result has been to raise the price of live stock. And now the people complain.

Would it not be well to change our land laws so as to enable the Commissioner of Public Lands to lease lands specially adapted for grazing, in large tracts? There is land enough specially suited for tillage. Give the ranchmen a fair share.

EVERETT P. WHEELER.

New York City.

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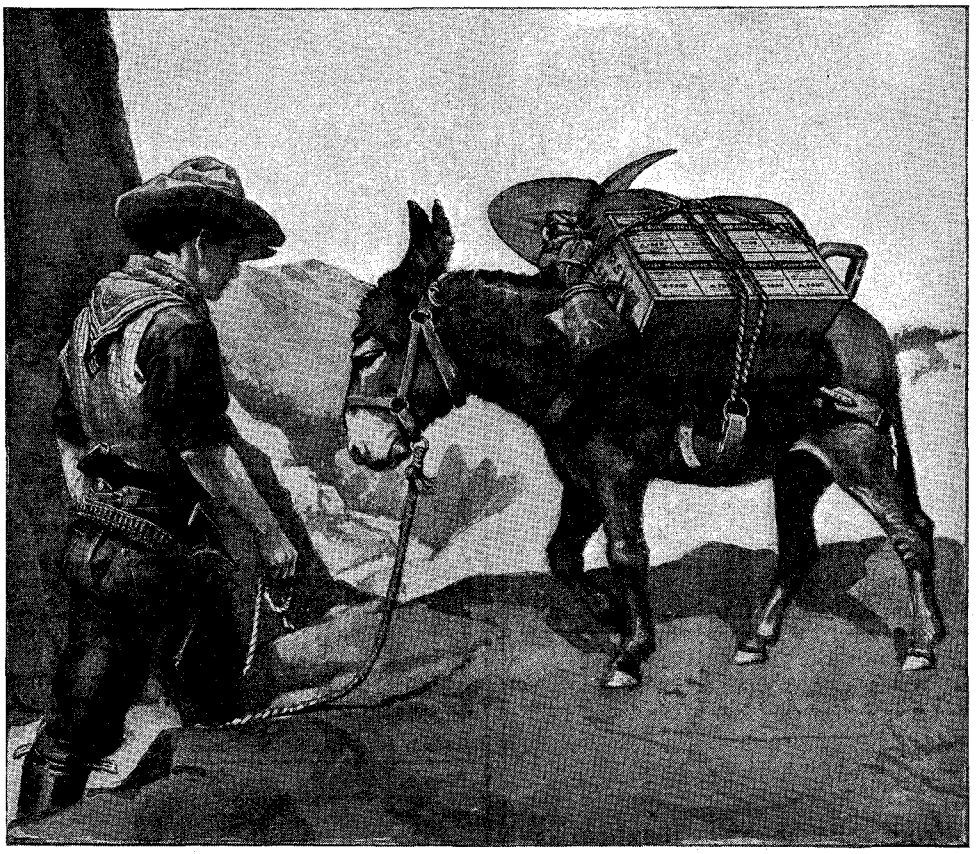

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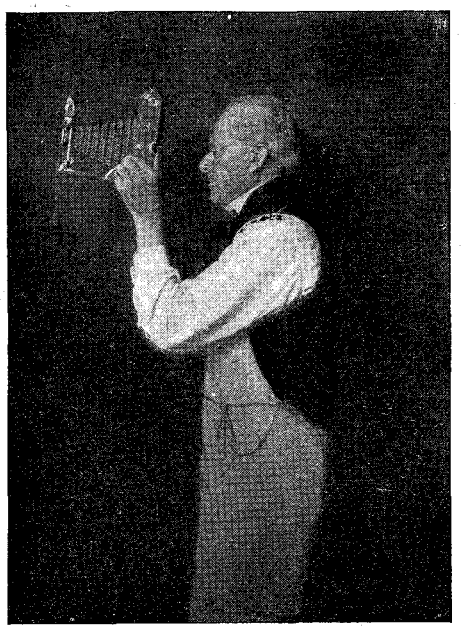

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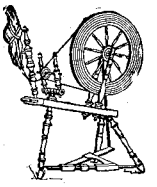

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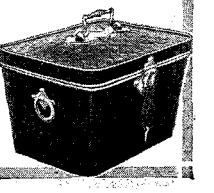

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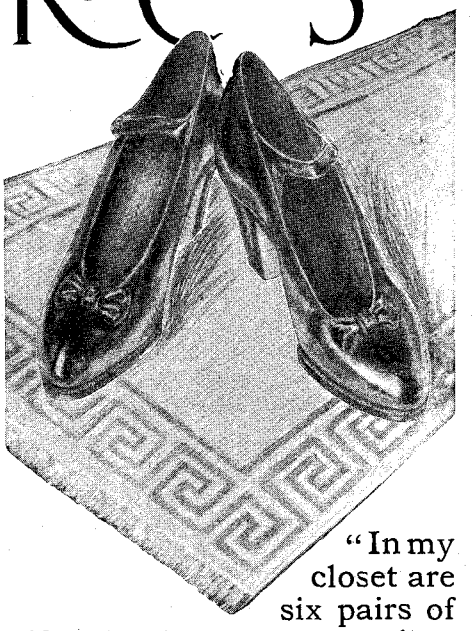

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